

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,
HELD IN 1864 AT CHICAGO

by

Democratic party.
National convention, Chicago, 1864

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THIS BOOK PRESENTED BY
Francis Newton Thorpe

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CHICAGO:

THE TIMES STEAM BOOK AND JOB PRINTING HOUSE.

1864.

ADJOURNMENT.

MR. HAMILTON ALLRICKS, of Pennsylvania: I move that when this convention adjourn, it adjourn to meet at four o'clock this afternoon.

Mr. C. L. LAMBERTON, of Pennsylvania: It is the desire of those around me that we do not now adjourn, but that we proceed now with our organization. I believe each delegation has selected the individual to represent it on the different committees, and I know we want to get through with this nomination in harmony, and go home with as little delay as possible. I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania should withdraw his resolution relative to an adjournment, to see if, after a call of the States, we cannot proceed with our organization at once.

Mr. ALLRICKS, of Pennsylvania: I have not moved to adjourn, but have only moved to meet at a certain time, after we shall have once adjourned, that we may at that time hear the report of the Committee on Organization.

Mr. VIRGIL HICKOX, of Illinois, said that he had a communication to be presented to the convention.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the motion to adjourn to four o'clock this afternoon was now before the convention.

Mr. GEORGE H. PENDLETON, of Ohio: I move to amend, that when the convention adjourn, it adjourn to meet at twelve o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. L. W. POWELL, of Kentucky: Before the motion is put, I desire to remind the convention that under the resolution which has been passed, each State is required to present a member to act on the Committee on Resolutions. There are from the State of Kentucky two sets of delegates. They have agreed to act harmoniously in this convention. [Loud cheers.] We desire that there shall be one delegate from each of our separate delegations appointed on the Committee on Resolutions. We ask, however, that they have but one vote in the committee.

The CHAIRMAN: The chair would suggest that the motion is not a motion to adjourn, but as to when we shall meet after the adjournment takes place. The gentleman's motion, therefore, would be out of order.

Mr. POWELL, of Kentucky: I ask, then, the unanimous consent of the convention.

There being no objection offered to the request,

The CHAIRMAN announced that the motion would be entertained.

Mr. POWELL, of Kentucky: I move, then, that the Kentucky delegations be allowed to have one member from each delegation on the Committee on Resolutions, but that both have but one vote in the committee.

Which motion was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: The question now recurs on the motion of the gentleman from Ohio, that when the convention adjourn, it adjourn to meet at twelve o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. PENDLETON, of Ohio: At the suggestion of several gentlemen in my immediate vicinity, I wish to modify the motion, by substituting ten o'clock to-morrow for twelve.

The motion, as modified, was put and lost; whereupon

The question recurred on the original motion to adjourn to four o'clock to-morrow afternoon.

Mr. WILLIAM ALLEN, of Ohio: We have several working hours of this day before us, and may, before we now adjourn, do much to abbreviate the labor and the difficulty before us. I believe that the hour to which we should adjourn can be better fixed at the adjournment of our deliberations this day, and, therefore, move that the motion now before the body be laid upon the table.

Which motion prevailed.

DELEGATES FROM THE TERRITORIES AND SOUTHERN STATES.

Mr. JOHN B. WELLER, of California: I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That gentlemen, not exceeding three in number, and known to be members of the democratic party from each of the organized Territories of the United States, be allowed seats in this convention, with the privilege of participating in debate, but without the right to vote.

Mr. GEORGE W. MORGAN, of Ohio: I move that the motion just offered be amended, so as to embrace three delegates from each of the southern States that may

be now present, with the right to join in the debate but not to vote. If our brethren of the Southern States who desire to return to the Union, are here represented, I would wish to see them admitted. [Applause and some faint hisses.] And I would suggest that democrats from the District of Columbia be included.

The mover of the original resolution accepted the amendment.

Mr. TILDEN, of New York, came forward, ascended the platform in front of the chair, and said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Before the question is taken upon this resolution, I wish to address to the delegated representatives of the democratic party a single suggestion on this subject. We are assembled here to perform the greatest and grandest task that any body of men have ever undertaken on this continent. We come here under the responsibility of a delegation of the organized democracy of our respective States, and it is now proposed to introduce among us a considerable number of gentlemen—who knows who?—to participate in our deliberations. What reason is there for admitting three gentlemen, even if they do belong to the democratic party, unaccredited to us, from any Territory, any more than the same number of gentlemen from any State? We might feel inclined to have the Territories represented, but if so they should come here accredited as we are. In my judgment nothing but danger, nothing but confusion, nothing but disorder, can result from introducing here unknown, irresponsible men, who may wish perhaps to deliver themselves of speeches to this solemn and august assembly. [Cheers.] It is necessary, at the very outset, that we address ourselves to our great duty in the spirit of our delegated authority. With these views and for these reasons I move to lay this resolution and the amendment thereto on the table.

Mr. WILLIAM E. NIBLACK, of Indiana: I beg the gentleman to withdraw the motion and allow the subject to be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

Which suggestion was adopted, and the matter was so referred.

LETTERS FROM DELEGATES IN MILITARY PRISONS.

Mr. CHARLES A. WICKLIFFE, of Kentucky: I hold in my hand a communication from each of two delegates to this convention designated by the democracy of Kentucky as representatives in this body. But the hand of power—of unlawful and lawless power—has been laid upon them and they now rest in prison in our State; but from the walls of that prison they desire to address what I hold in my hand to this convention, and which I now present and ask to have read.

The remarks of Mr. Wickliffe were received with enthusiastic applause, at the conclusion of which

The SECRETARY read the letters presented by Mr. Wickliffe, as follows:

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Aug. 26, 1864.

"To the Hon. the President of the Chicago Convention:

"I much regret the necessity of my absence from the deliberations of this great national democratic council. The most momentous period in the history of man is now, Mr. President, in the hands of your convention. Let me admonish the convention to create and adopt a democratic platform—a peace platform [loud cheers]; and then put the best man you can agree upon on the platform, and all will be well. [Cheers.] The platform must secure everything—individuals secure nothing.

"I am now in Louisville, held as a political prisoner by the military authorities. Of course, I am well and kindly treated by them, so long as they do not hang me. [Laughter and cheers.] But the question occurs to me, 'Is this our country?' If it be, then your convention must reassert those rights of the sovereignty of the States, and the personal liberty of our citizens under the writ of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury. Those rights are now usurped by the party in power.

"The conventions of our fathers that gave us our liberties, were nothing in importance to be compared with the duties of the present convention. Then lay aside personal preferences and act to meet the great emergency, and save a bleeding country. Give us our liberty. This war is wrong. [Cheers.]

"A life-long democrat,

(Signed,)

"JOHN W. LEATHERS."

MILITARY PRISON, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. }
LOUISVILLE, Aug. 15, 1864.

"To the Chairman of the Chicago National Democratic Convention:

"The undersigned, one of the delegates at large for the State of Kentucky to your convention, and Chairman of the Central Democratic Committee of the State of Kentucky, finding himself unable to perform his duties, in consequence of his incarceration by military despotism, ventures to address this communication, through you, to the National Convention, in the hope that it may be passed out of this prison by some friendly agency, and may possibly reach its destination if not intercepted.

"Arrested on the 2d of August; deprived of the right of seeing any friends or legal counsel, robbed of papers referring to the credentials of the Kentucky delegates to the Chicago convention; seeing in the same confinement Dr. A. B. Chambers and Col. J. W. Leathers, and not knowing how many of the Democratic delegates may be prevented, by arrests or by terrorism, from attending the convention, I have thought proper to forward this statement of our condition.

"We are arrested upon vague suspicions. No statement can be obtained of the charges, the specifications, or the witnesses, if any there be; nor is any hope held out that we shall have either trial or investigation, however vehement our protestations of innocence. I am guilty of no crime but devotion to democracy, and abhorrence of war.

"New prisoners are being brought in, and a vague terror fills the public mind. Since men see the best and quietest citizens of the country, engrossed in their private duties or business, mysteriously and suddenly snatched away without assignable cause, and kept in the mysterious confinement of a political hospital, they cannot but feel that their own liberty is very precarious, and that any military whim or the malignity of a slanderous political enemy or villainous detective may at any time work their ruin.

"Under these circumstances, I desire, on behalf of the Central Democratic Committee, who are no longer able to meet and act as heretofore, to urge upon the convention the necessity of discontinuance of Mr. Lincoln's bold schemes for the perpetuation of his despotism, by the aid of a fictitious vote in Kentucky and other border States. There is no freedom of election in Kentucky but by gracious permission. The life, liberty and property of every citizen are at the mercy of the President and his subordinates. It is customary with them to pronounce every man disloyal who is opposed to Mr. Lincoln, and to the continuance of the present ferocious war. It is customary to take from such their horses, provisions, slaves, arms, or whatever they may have that their oppressors may fancy, and they esteem it a privilege if their property is not wantonly destroyed and themselves shot at or imprisoned, as such things occur often enough to create a general alarm. A few weeks since the city of Louisville was guarded by negroes, while it was ransacked to seize and carry off, without any pretense of compensation, the horses of the citizens opposed to the party in power.

"In the last gubernatorial and Congressional election, the voice of Kentucky was silenced by these means (terrorism and robbery), and it is needless to hope for any better treatment at the ensuing election. Every one knows that the voice of Kentucky, if it can be uttered, will be overwhelming for the democratic nominee; the wildest Jacobin expects no other result. The democratic party are, therefore, entitled to demand the benefit of that vote, and if they shall be defrauded by military interference, they can at least assert, with all the majesty of their accumulated power as a party, that no false vote gotten up under martial law shall be estimated in the coming election.

"The times are truly alarming. There is no knowing what *coup d'etat* may be attempted by our well organized opponents with their secret societies, their limitless control of the national wealth, national arms and soldiers, their hordes of negroes and detective spies, their subservient Congress and State Governors, and their general disregard of laws and oaths to support the constitution. Nothing can counteract this vast machinery of usurpation, but the firmness of an organized, centralized and vigilant party of liberty. It is necessary that the National Democratic Convention, as the central representation of the democratic party, should hold its session in permanence, or at least until the result of the Presidential election is determined, and the alarming crisis is passed, if not until the great objects, peace and liberty, are attained.

"The present convention was not assembled with the prospect of permanent service, but it may well select from its own ranks, or if need be, from the groups of ruined citizens in all the States, from twenty-five to fifty of the best, wisest and most esteemed, firm and patriotic citizens, to form the *Council of Liberty*, or national council of democracy, whose voice shall be heard above the storm of war, guiding the friends of liberty in action, and speaking potential words of peace and reunion to the whole of a torn and bleeding country.

(Signed,)

"J. R. BOCHANAN."

Mr. CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM, of Ohio: I move that the States be now called, in order that the chairman of each delegation may report the several committee men, whom I understand have already been designated by the respective delegations.

DELEGATES FROM LOUISIANA.

The CHAIRMAN suggested that there was still before the Convention a communication from gentlemen who claimed to represent the State of Louisiana; whereupon

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM, suspended his motion to allow the communication to be read.

The SECRETARY thereupon read the communication, as follows:

"To the Democratic National Convention:

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned delegates, selected by the democracy of the State of Louisiana to represent that State in your convention under a call duly signed and published, respectfully represent that they have presented their credentials to the National Committee, which body, without a hearing, have refused tickets of admission as members of the convention. Assuring the convention that we have come in no spirit of disorganization, but to unite with the democratic party of the entire Union in the glorious work of rescuing the country from this corrupt administration, and believing the democratic party of the North are ready to unite with us in such a work, we desire that as delegates from Louisiana we be allowed a hearing.

"Respectfully,
(Signed)

"J. T. BIDDOLPH,
Chairman of the Delegation."

Mr. GIDEON J. TUCKER, of New York, moved that the communication be referred to the Committee on Credentials. Carried.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

The CHAIRMAN then reminded Mr. Vallandigham that his motion would now be in order; whereupon

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM arose, amid vehement applause, and renewed his motion to proceed with the call of States.

Mr. JOHN D. STILES, of Pennsylvania: I move, in amendment to the motion, to confine the call to the Committee on Organization alone. Some of the delegations have not yet selected their representatives on the other committees.

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM, of Ohio: The Committee on Resolutions will have the most laborious duty to perform of any committee of this convention, and this very night we can proceed with that work if the committee men are announced. If none have been appointed by some of the delegations, those delegations can appoint a committee man and announce his name to the other members of the committee and he can meet with them. I trust that this motion will be adopted and that we shall proceed at once to the transaction of that important business.

MR. STILES, of Pennsylvania: With the understanding suggested I withdraw the amendment.

The SECRETARY, thereupon called the roll of States for the selection of the respective committees. They were finally selected as follows:

ON CREDENTIALS.

Maine—Joseph Titcomb.
New Hampshire—J. S. Bennett.
Massachusetts—Joshua D. Ball.
Vermont—A. M. Dickey.
Connecticut—Alfred E. Burr.
Rhode Island—William H. Allen.
New York—Sanford E. Church.
New Jersey—Daniel Holzman.
Pennsylvania—William V. McGrath.
Delaware—E. L. Martin.
Maryland—John R. Franklin.
Kentucky—Nathaniel Wolfe.

Ohio—Alexander Long.
Indiana—Alfred P. Edgerton.
Illinois—William R. Archer.
Michigan—Alpheus Felch.
Missouri—Robert Wilson.
Minnesota—J. B. LeBlond.
Wisconsin—H. W. Smith.
Iowa—M. D. McHenry.
California—C. Wetherill.
Kansas—Orlin Thurston.
Oregon—Benjamin Stark.

ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Maine—Philo Clark.
New Hampshire—E. W. Harrington.
Massachusetts—Phineas Allen.
Vermont—George Washburn.
Connecticut—Lloyd E. Baldwin.
Rhode Island—Gideon H. Durfee.
New York—John A. Green, Jr.
New Jersey—Theodore F. Randolph.
Pennsylvania—Francis W. Hughes.
Delaware—James R. Booth.
Maryland—Benjamin G. Harris.
Kentucky—Hamilton Pope.

Ohio—Chilton A. White.
Indiana—Samuel C. Willson.
Illinois—Thomas P. Rogers.
Michigan—Henry Fralick.
Missouri—Firman A. Rozler.
Minnesota—C. H. Berry.
Wisconsin—Charles G. Rodolph.
Iowa—J. H. Murphy.
California—Thomas Hays.
Kansas—L. B. Wheat.
Oregon—William McMiller.

ON RESOLUTIONS.

Maine—John W. Dans.
New Hampshire—Edwin Pease.
Massachusetts—George Lunt.
Vermont—T. P. Redfield.
Connecticut—Charles E. Ingersoll.
Rhode Island—Charles S. Bradley.
New York—Samuel J. Tilden.
New Jersey—Abraham Browning.
Pennsylvania—William A. Galbraith.
Delaware—Charles Brown.
Maryland—Thomas G. Pratt.
Kentucky—James Guthrie, Thos. N. Lindsey.

Ohio—Clement L. Vallandigham.
Indiana—James M. Hanna.
Illinois—S. S. Marshall.
Michigan—Augustus C. Baldwin.
Missouri—William A. Hall.
Minnesota—E. O. Hamlin.
Wisconsin—George B. Smith.
Iowa—James F. Bates.
California—John B. Weller.
Kansas—William C. McDowell.
Oregon—Benjamin Stark.

RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. E. B. OLDS, of Ohio: I have a resolution I desire to offer for the purpose of having it referred to the Committee on Resolutions, that at some future time the attention of the committee and of the Convention having been called to it, we may have some action, if such should by this convention be thought proper:

Resolved, That the Committee on Resolutions be instructed to take into consideration and report to this convention what action, if any, this convention should take relative to the late military order of Gen. Heintzelman, prohibiting the citizens of the sovereign States of the great Northwest from purchasing firearms and ammunition.

Which resolution was referred, under the rule, to the Committee on Resolutions. Mr. WASHINGTON HUNT, of New York, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union and the Constitution, and insist on maintaining our national unity as the only solid foundation of our strength, security and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government, equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States both northern and southern ; and, with a view to terminate the pending conflict and restore the blessings of peace, we are in favor of an armistice, and of earnest, honorable efforts to adjust the terms of settlement and Union on the basis of the constitution of the United States ; and, for the final solution of all differences, we would recommend a convention of the States to review the constitution, and adopt such amendments and modifications as may seem necessary, more fully to insure to each State the enjoyment of all its rights and the undisturbed control of its domestic concerns, according to the original intent and purpose of the Federal compact.

Which was also referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. THOMAS L. PRICE of Missouri, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That, in this great crisis of our national history, the freedom and sacred right of freemen secured to us by the blood of our fathers, and the guarantees of the constitution, must be maintained against all assaults, intimidation, or interference ; and we hereby pledge, each to the other, and all of us to our common country, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honors, to make common cause with the people of any and every State where the same may be assailed or trampled upon ; to the end that the constitutional expression of the popular will and the inestimable right of self-government may be secured for ourselves and our posterity.

Which was also referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. ALEXANDER LONG, of Ohio, addressed the chair to offer a resolution.

Mr. S. S. COX, of Ohio : I do not wish to cut off the resolution of my colleague about to be offered, but I move, sir, that all resolutions coming from individual delegates be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without reading.

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM, of Ohio : I make the point of order that the gentleman's motion is ruled out by the reading already of several resolutions, and that there is a prior motion now pending.

Mr. COX, of Ohio : I do not object to the reading of the resolution of my colleague. After it shall have been read I think this convention had better determine to lay before the Committee on Resolutions everything that may come before it in a proper way.

Mr. LONG then read the following resolution :

Resolved, That a committee, to be composed of one member from each State represented in this Convention, to be selected by the respective delegations thereof, be appointed for the purpose of proceeding forthwith to the city of Washington, and, on behalf of this convention and the people, to ask Mr. Lincoln to suspend the operation of the pending draft for 500,000 more men until the people shall have an opportunity through the ballot box in a free election,—uninfluenced in any manner by military orders or military interference,—of deciding the question, now fairly presented to them, of war or peace, at the approaching election in November ; and that said committee be and they are hereby instructed to urge upon Mr. Lincoln, by whatever argument they can employ, to stay the flow of fraternal blood, at least so far as the pending draft will continue to augment it, until the people, the source of all power, shall have an opportunity of expressing their will for or against the further prosecution of the war in the choice of candidates for the Presidency.

Which was also referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. W. W. EATON, of Connecticut, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Committee on Resolutions be instructed to report as soon as practicable, and that no ballot be taken for candidates for President or Vice President until such report shall be made and adopted.

Mr. EATON subsequently asked leave that his resolution might lie on the table for further consideration hereafter.

Mr. ALLRICKS, of Pennsylvania, presented the following, which was handed to the Secretary and by him read to the convention :

"We, the representatives of the democratic party of the United States of America, in national convention assembled, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the high offices of President and Vice President, to be voted for at the ensuing election, point with pride and satisfaction to the past history of our common country, her great and marvelous prosperity, under democratic administration. Therefore, in order to restore and preserve the integrity of our once happy Union, re-establish justice and domestic tranquility throughout our borders, promote the general welfare, and secure the return of the blessings of liberty vouchsafed to us by our forefathers, we here renew and declare our unalterable attachment to the Union, and that it must be preserved in its integrity. Believing that the desirable object can be obtained if we profit by the wisdom of our forefathers, we here adopt as our sure and broad platform the constitution of the United States in its length and breadth, and pledge our candidates to maintain, preserve, protect, and defend the same.

Resolved, That we cannot view with indifference the open repudiation and violation of the Monroe

doctrine, the establishment of an empire on the ruins of a neighboring republic; and that we view with greater alarm and distrust the fearful strides of the general administration at our national capital towards despotism, in their repeated interference with State rights, with the liberty of speech, of the press, and the right of private property; wherefore, we call on all true and incorruptible patriots to lay aside their partisan prejudices, to look our bleeding country's troubles in the face, calmly to consider the fearful waste of blood and treasure through the unwise acts and misguided policy of the present national administration, and assist in changing our rulers, that we may rescue our beloved country and the liberties of the people from certain ruin.

Resolved, That we will use all honorable means known to civilized nations to bring to a speedy termination the unhappy difficulties that disturb our country.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. JOHN A. GREEN, of New York: I move that when this convention adjourn it adjourn to meet to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

Which motion prevailed.

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM, of Ohio, rising, was greeted with loud cheering and cries, "Take the platform." He finally stepped to the platform, and merely gave notice that the Committee on Resolutions would meet in the evening at eight o'clock, at the rooms of the New York delegation in the Sherman House.

The SECRETARY also gave notice that the Committee on Credentials would meet in the evening at No. 5 Tremont House; and that the Committee on Organization would meet in the evening at seven o'clock at the rooms of the Pennsylvania delegation at the Tremont House.

The Convention then adjourned until ten o'clock on Tuesday morning.

SECOND DAY.

TUESDAY, August 30.

The Convention reassembled, pursuant to adjournment, at ten o'clock in the forenoon. The galleries of the amphitheatre were densely crowded long before the hour for the re-assembling of the convention. Every foot of standing room in the immense building was occupied, while many hundreds of people, unable to gain admission, were compelled to remain outside.

Hon. WILLIAM BIGLER, of Pennsylvania, temporary chairman, called the delegates to order, and announced that the proceedings of the convention would now be resumed with

DEVOTIONAL EXERCISES.

Right Rev. HENRY J. WHITEHOUSE, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Illinois, then came forward, and introduced the opening religious service by stating that a portion of the Psalter would be read, and requesting all the audience to join audibly in the Lord's prayer at the close. He then read Psalm 127—verses 1, 2; Psalm 133 and Psalm 122—verses 6, 7, 8, 9, in the version of the Liturgy, after which he proceeded as follows:

Let us pray:

[Prayer for the Convention and People.]

O Most Mighty God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, without whose care the watchman waketh but in vain, we implore in this our time of need Thy succor and blessing in behalf of all the people of this land, and especially of this assembly solemnly convened in the awful trust of popular government, and met together to consult on the interests of our afflicted country in the responsibility and loyalty of citizenship. Remember not our many and great transgressions; turn from us the judgments we feel and fear; and give us wisdom to discern, and courage to attempt, and faithfulness to do, and patience to endure, whatever shall be well pleasing in Thy sight.

Direct and prosper all events and counsels to preserve the union of these States and maintain the constitution, so that truth and justice, brotherly kindness and charity, unity and concord, may be the stability of our times and make this nation a praise in the earth. We acknowledge our unworthiness, and the grievous sins which have provoked Thy judgment to lay us thus in "a place of darkness, and in the deep." Let our cry enter into Thine ear, and in our triumphs and our sorrows let us look only to Thee as the Author of strength, the Giver of victory, the Consolation of the afflicted, and the Healer of our woes. Renew and increase in us a spirit of love and thankfulness, of peaceable obedience to Thy laws and of fervent zeal for Thy holy faith. Subdue anger, prejudice and vain glory. Take away all ignorance, hardness of heart, and detracting passions. Cause Thy face to shine on our desolations, and fetch home, blessed Lord, those who have gone from us, that we may again become one in the goodly heritage which Thou gavest to our fathers. May Thy chastendings yield the peaceable fruits of righteousness, that at last we may rejoice in Thy deliverance through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Prayer for our Rulers.]

Grant, O Lord, to all such as are intrusted with the government and protection of the nation, Thy most gracious support and guidance. Graft in their hearts a deep sense of dependence upon Thy wisdom, power and favor, and incline them with all humility to seek the same. Make Thy word to be their light and Thine arm their strength. Under their heavy burdens be Thou their chosen refuge and consolation. By their counsel and measures, with Thy blessing, may the wounds of the nation be speedily healed and Thy people be glad in the peace and love of Thy salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[Prayer for our Forces and for all in Suffering.]

O God, Most Mighty and Most Gracious, by whom the hairs of our head are all numbered, we implore Thy blessing and protection for all who have gone forth for our defence by land and water. In every duty and danger be their present help. In all privations and sufferings give them patience and resignation, and a heart to seek their comfort in Thee. O Father of Mercies: We fly unto Thee for succor, in behalf of all those who are suffering in mind, body or estate, in the calamities of this season of war. The more their sorrows press hard upon them, the more let the comforts of Thy mercy and pity abound towards them. Visit with Thy consolation the sick, the wounded, the prisoner, the poor and distressed and all deprived of relatives and friends. Be the Father of the fatherless, the God of the widow, the solace of parents bereaved of their children. Raise up, for the downcast and stricken, friends to pity, and minister to their several necessities. Relieve the distressed, protect the innocent, and awaken the guilty. Prepare to meet Thee, all who shall die in this conflict, giving them true repentance, lively faith, and sincerity of heart, that they may be Thine in the day when Thou makest up Thy jewels, through Him who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

[Prayer for Unity and Peace.]

O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Savior and Prince of Peace, give us grace seriously to lay to heart the great dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions. Take away all hatred and prejudice, selfishness, pride and vain glory, that may hinder us from godly union and concord. Settle the flocks of Thy people in peace, and remove all offences and make this desolating war to cease throughout our land. Restore to us the blessings of peace, and secure them to our children's children. May the Prince of Peace come, and, reigning in our hearts and lives, unite us in the bonds of national love, in unity of counsel, purity of purpose, and the supreme aim of the advancement of religion and virtue, and the peace, good order, and welfare of the whole nation so that we, Thy people, and the sheep of Thy pasture, united in the bonds of truth, of faith, and charity, may glorify Thee in Thy peace and love. O God our Savior, who art the hope of all the ends of the earth and to whom with the Father and Holy Ghost, be all honor and praise, world without end. Amen.

[The Lords Prayer.]

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

[The Benediction.]

The Peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord. The blessing of the Lord Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be among you and remain with you forever.

The SECRETARY was about to read the proceedings of the first day's session, when

Mr. WILLIAM H. MILLER, of Pennsylvania, moved that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with. Carried.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Mr. M. D. McHENRY, of Iowa, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

"The Committee on Credentials examined the credentials of the several delegates claiming seats in this convention, and found them correct.

"In regard to the delegation from Kentucky we find that, on the 25th day of May last a convention of conservative democratic Union men, under a call from the committee appointed by the Union Convention of last year, assembled at Louisville, and appointed and accredited a full delegation to this convention, who were James Guthrie and others; and on the 28th day of June a convention was held under a call for a democratic convention, which appointed and accredited a full delegation, who were Charles A. Wickliffe and others.

"Your committee, recognizing both of these delegations as composed of gentlemen devoted to the constitution and the Union, and fully sympathizing with this convention in its objects, recommend that they both be received and have membership as delegates from Kentucky, each delegation to cast half the votes to which the State is entitled.

(Signed,) Respectfully submitted,

M. D. McHENRY,
Chairman."

Mr. WICKLIFFE, of Kentucky: I move that the report of the committee be received and adopted.

Which motion was carried.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

The following is a complete list of delegates, showing, as far as practicable, their full names and residences, together with the names of alternate delegates, wherever the same were chosen:

MAINE.

Delegates at Large.

Gorham L. Boynton, Bangor,
John W. Pana, Fryeburg,
William P. Haines, Bedford,
Richard D. Rice, Augusta.

District Delegates.

First District..... Sylvanus R. Lyman, Portland,
Joseph Titcomb, Kennebunk,
Second..... David Hammons, Bethel,
Philo Clark, Turner,
Third..... Joseph E. Smith, Wiscasset,
Charles A. White, Gardiner,
Fourth..... Marcellus Emery, Bangor,
Henry Hudson, Guilford,
Fifth..... William H. Simpson,
James R. Talbot, East Machias,

Alternates.

Not appointed,
Not appointed,
A. C. Howard, Auburn,
Moses Riggs, Georgetown,
Not appointed,
Not appointed,
Charles W. Roberts, Bangor,
Joseph Chase, Dover,
Jonathan White, Rockland,
Thomas D. Jones, Ellsworth.

VERMONT.

Delegates at Large.

H. B. Smith, Milton,
Lewis S. Partridge, Norwich,
John Cain, Rutland,
T. P. Redfield, Montpelier,

Alternates.

N. H. Armington, Bakersfield,
Alexander McLane, Fairlee,
A. M. Halling, Bennington,
J. M. Weeks, Lyndon.

District Delegates.

First District..... Isaac McDaniels, Rutland,
A. M. Halling, Bennington,
Second..... Asa M. Dickey, Bradford,
George Washburn, Springfield,
Third..... Benjamin H. Smalley, Swanton,
R. G. Hopkinson,

Alternates.

John McKeogh,
Not appointed,
Harry N. Worthen,
P. G. Skinner,
Not appointed,
Not appointed.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

*[Delegates elected from Councillor Districts.]**District Delegates.*

First District..... John H. Pearson, Concord,
John S. Bennett, Newmarket,
Second..... Paul A. Stackpole,
Edwin Pease,
Third..... George Stark, Nashua,
Edward W. Harrington, Manchester,
Fourth..... Don H. Woodward, Keene,
Albert S. Wait, Newport,
Fifth..... John G. Sinclair,
Jared W. Williams,

Alternates.

Aaron Whittemore, Pembroke,
William C. Webster, Kingston,
J. C. Eastman,
E. A. Hibbard,
C. H. Burns,
C. W. Stanley,
Frederic Vose Walpole,
Edmund L. Cushing, Charleston,
William A. Putney,
John Hitchcock.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Delegates at Large.

Josiah G. Abbott, Boston,
Isaac Davis, Worcester,
Erasmus D. Beach, Springfield,
J. D. Thompson,

Alternates.

Oliver Stevens,
George W. Bentley,
D. N. Carpenter,
Charles Heebner.

District Delegates.

First District..... S. B. Phinney, Barnstable,
W. C. N. Swift, New Bedford,
Second..... Caleb Stetson, Braintree,
James S. Maguire, Randolph,
Third..... Joshua D. Ball, Boston,
George Lunt, Boston,
Fourth..... Michael Doherty, Boston,
Knowlton S. Chaffee, Boston,
Fifth..... Richard S. Spofford, Newburyport,
William D. Northend, Salem,
Sixth..... John K. Tarbox, Lawrence,
E. T. Swift, Charlestown,
Seventh..... A. N. Brown, Lowell,
William G. Lewis, Framingham,
Eighth..... Orison Woodward, Milford,

Alternates.

Alexander Baxter, Yarmouth,
E. W. Allen, Nantucket,
Alexander Lincoln, Hingham,
Edwin R. Clark, Sharon,
J. M. Wightman, Boston,
Benjamin Dean, Boston,
D. C. Kelly, Boston,
William Murray, Boston,
Lemuel B. Usher, Lynn,
Charles P. Thompson, Gloucester,
Fredrick O. Prince,
J. U. Carlton,
John B. Walcott, Natick,
A. J. Harlow, Concord,
Henry A. Aldrich, Mendon,

| | | |
|------------|---|---|
| Ninth..... | George Hodges, Oxford, Calvin W. Shattuck, Coleraine, Lewis Bodman, Williamsburg, | Henry H. Steven, Dudley Levi Haywood, Gardner William H. Fuller, Whately, |
| Tenth..... | Phineas Allen, Pittsfield, Reuben Noble, Westfield, | Russell C. Brown, John Boyle. |

RHODE ISLAND.

Delegates at Large.

Charles S. Bradley, Providence,
Gideon Bradford, Providence,
Alfred Anthony, Providence,
Thomas A. Reynolds, East Greenwich.

District Delegates

First District....Ebenezer W. Walker, Providence,
Gideon H. Durfee, Tiverton,
Second.....Isaac Lawrence, Newport,
William H. Allen, Allen.

CONNECTICUT.

Delegates at Large.

William W. Eaton, Hartford,
Charles R. Ingersoll, New Haven,
William M. Converse, Norwich,
George Taylor, Litchfield.

District Delegates.

First District. ..Alfred E. Burr, Hartford,
Charles F. Sumner,
Second.....Nathan A. Baldwin,
Samuel Arnold,
Third.....Frederick L. Allen,
Lloyd E. Baldwin,
Fourth.....William F. Taylor,
Roland Hitchcock.

NEW YORK.

Delegates at Large.

Horatio Seymour, Albany,
Dean Richmond, Buffalo,
Isaac Butts, Rochester,
August Belmont, New York.

District Delegates.

First District....Jacob Platt Carll,
Abraham G. Thompson, Babylon,
Second.....John G. Shoemaker, Brooklyn,
Thomas Kinsala, Brooklyn,
Third.....Samuel D. Morris, Brooklyn,
Thomas H. Farron, Brooklyn,
Fourth.....Daniel E. Delevan, New York,
Henry McMahon, New York,
Fifth.....Oswald Ottendorfer, New York,
Ignatius Flynn, New York,
Sixth.....John Kelly, New York,
Henry Hilton, New York,
Seventh.....Michael Connolly, New York,
Luke F. Cozzans, New York,
Eighth.....John McKeon, New York,
Gideon J. Tucker, New York,
Ninth.....Samuel J. Tilden, New York,
Thomas McSpedon, New York,
Tenth.....Abraham B. Conger, Haverstraw,
William Radford, Yonkers,
Eleventh.....Eugene A. Brewster, Newburg,
George Bennett, Monticello,
Twelfth.....Robert E. Andrews, Hudson,
William Chamberlain, Barrytown,
Thirteenth.....Manly B. Mattice, Durhamville,
Jacob Hardenburgh, Kingston,
Fourteenth.....Amasa J. Parker, Albany,
N. P. Hinman, Schoharie Court House,
Fifteenth.....James S. Thayer, Hoosick Falls,
Emerson E. Davis, Whitehall,
Sixteenth.....Jesse Gay, Plattsburg,
Augustus C. Hand, Elizabethtown,
Seventeenth... William J. Averill, Ogdensburg,
Darius W. Lawrence, Moira,
Eighteenth... Livingston Spraker, Palatine Bridge,

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| | David T. Lamb, Waterford |
| Nineteenth..... | Alfred Clark, Hyde, Sherwood S. Merritt, Oxford, |
| Twentieth..... | William I. Skinner, Little Falls, Levi H. Brown, Watertown, |
| Twenty-first..... | J. Thomas Spriggs, Utica, G. A. Sanford, Durhamville, |
| Twenty-second.... | Sidney T. Fairchild, Cazenovia, Willard Johnson, Fulton, |
| Twenty-third..... | John A. Green, Jr. Syracuse, Frederick Hyde, |
| Twenty-fourth.... | William C. Beardsley, Auburn, Edwin M. Anderson, Palmyra, |
| Twenty-fifth..... | Benjamin F. Angel, Geneseo, Henry O. Cheesebro, Canandaigua, |
| Twenty-sixth..... | John J. Taylor, Owego, E. P. Dey, Watkins, |
| Twenty-seventh... | Marshall B. Champlain, Cuba, Luman A. Ward, Hornellsville, |
| Twenty-eighth.... | Sanford E. Church, Rochester, William C. Rowley, Rochester, |
| Twenty-ninth..... | Washington Hunt, Lockport, Linus W. Thayer, Warsaw, |
| Thirtieth..... | John Ganson, Buffalo, A. P. Laning, Buffalo, |
| Thirty-first..... | John C. Devereux, Ellicottville, Hiram C. Miner, Dunkirk, |

NEW JERSEY.

Delegates at Large.

John P. Stockton, Trenton,
Daniel Holsman, Passaic,
Abraham Browning, Camden,
Theodore Runyon, Newark.

District Delegates.

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| First District.... | Ebenezer Westcott, Joseph W. Reeves, |
| Second..... | Job H. Gaskill, Burlington, Joseph D. Bidle, Freehold, |
| Third..... | Benjamin M. Price, Norway, James K. Swayze, Ilope, |
| Fourth..... | Albert A. Hopper, Paterson, Andrew B. Cobb, Parsippany, |
| Fifth..... | Theodore F. Randolph, Jersey City, William H. Camp, Newark. |

PENNSYLVANIA.

Delegates at Large.

George W. Cass, Pittsburg
William Bigler, Clearfield,
Asa Packer,
William V. McGrath.

District Delegates.

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| First District.... | Samuel G. King, George W. Nebinger, |
| Second..... | William M. Kelley, G. W. Irwin, |
| Third..... | William Curtis, Simon W. Arnold, |
| Fourth..... | William A. Burnell, Isaac S. Cassin, |
| Fifth..... | H. P. Ross, Charles W. Carrigan, |
| Sixth..... | John D. Stiles, Perry M. Hunter, |
| Seventh..... | John H. Brinton, John C. Bently, |
| Eighth..... | J. Glancy Jones, William Rosenthal, |
| Ninth..... | George Sanderson, Henry A. Wade, |
| Tenth..... | Francis W. Hughes, C. B. Gloninger, |
| Eleventh..... | Phillip Johnson, Charlton Burnett, |
| Twelfth..... | Charles Dennison, A. J. Garrettson, |

Democratic National Convention.

Thirteenth.....John F. Means,
David Lowenberg,
Fourteenth.....Hamilton Allricks,
William Miller,
Fifteenth.....Peter A. Keller,
H. O. Egolt,
Sixteenth.....Henry J. Stable,
B. F. Meyers,
Seventeenth.....R. Bruce Petriken,
Daniel M. Dule,
Eighteenth.....Joim H. Orvis,
Stephen Pierce,
Nineteenth.....C. L. Lamberton,
James K. Kerr,
Twentieth.....Thomas B. Searight,
John Latta,
Twenty first....William A. Galbraith
William A. Wallace,
Twenty-second..William D. Patterson,
Samuel P. Ross,
Twenty-third...James A. McCullough,
Frank M. Hutchinson,
Twenty-fourth..David Crawford,
Daniel M. Donahoe.

DELAWARE.

Delegates at Large.

James A. Bayard,
John Merritt,
Charles Brown,
Eli Saulsbury.

Alternates.

James R. Boothe,
William Bright,
George W. Cummings,
John W. Hall.

District Delegates.

First District.....Willard Saulsbury,
Edward L. Martin,

Alternates.

Alfred P. Robinson,
H. Hickman.

MARYLAND.

Delegates at Large.

R. B. Carmichael,
Isaac D. Jones,
Benjamin G. Harris,
Thomas G. Pratt.

District Delegates.

First District....Hiram McCullough,
John R. Franklin.
Second.....William Kimmel,
George H. Carman,
Third.....A. Leo Knott,
James A. L. McClure,
Fourth.....Not reported,
Not reported,
Fifth.....Oden Bowie,
Sprigg Harwood.

OHIO.

Delegates at Large.

William Allen,
George H. Pendleton, Cincinnati,
Allen G. Thurman,
Rufus P. Ranney, Cleveland.

District Delegates.

First District....George Fries, Hamilton,
George N. Martin, Hamilton,
Second.....C. J. W. Smith, Hamilton,
Alexander Long, Hamilton,
Third.....Clement L. Vallandigham, Montgomery,
Chris Hughes, Butler,
Fourth.....John L. Winne, Darke,
David Loudenback, Champaign,
Fifth.....George M. Baxter, Allen,
C. W. Cowan, Auglaize,
Sixth.....Chilton A. White, Brown,
J. M. Trimble, Highland,
Seventh.....Samuel S. Cox, Franklin,
Samuel Medary, Franklin,
Eighth.....John Y. Glessner, Richland,
Peyton Hord, Marion,

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Ninth..... | Charles Powers, Sandusky, A. M. Jackson, Crawford, |
| Tenth..... | E. S. Platt, Lucas, Edwin Phelps, Defiance, |
| Eleventh..... | William Newman, Scioto, David C. Vance, Adams, |
| Twelfth..... | E. B. Eshelman, Ross, Edson B. Olds, Fairfield, |
| Thirteenth..... | George W. Morgan, Knox, Charles Follett, Licking, |
| Fourteenth..... | Thomas J. Kenny, Ashland, James A. Estill, Holmes, |
| Fifteenth..... | James R. Morris, Monroe, M. D. Follett, Washington, |
| Sixteenth..... | David W. Stambaugh, Tuscarawas, J. H. Collins, Belmont, |
| Seventeenth..... | Archibald McGregor, Stark, John H. Wallace, Columbiana, |
| Eighteenth..... | Michael Stuart, Portage, Samuel W. Gilson, Mahoning, |
| Nineteenth..... | Van R. Humphrey, Summit, Jabez W. Fitch, Cuyahoga. |

INDIANA.

Delegates at Large.

Joseph E. McDonald, Marion,
James M. Hanna, Sullivan,
William E. Niblack, Knox,
A. P. Edgerton, Allen.

District Delegates.

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| First District..... | A. T. Whittlesey, Vanderburg, Cutler S. Dobbins, Martin, |
| Second..... | Levi Sparks, Clarke, John L. Menaugh, Washington, |
| Third..... | William McEwen, Barhlemew, Mede W. Shields, Jackson, |
| Fourth..... | Marcus Levey, Dearborn, John B. Campbell, Rush, |
| Fifth..... | Luse Develin, Wayne, William P. Applegate, Fayette, |
| Sixth..... | A. B. Conduitt, Morgan, H. H. Dodd, Marion, |
| Seventh..... | John G. Davis, Vigo, Andy Humphreys, Green, |
| Eighth..... | Samuel C. Wilson, Montgomery, E. F. Lucas, Warren, |
| Ninth..... | J. A. Taylor, Cass, Horace Corbin, Marshall, |
| Tenth..... | David H. Colerick, Allen, E. V. Long, Kosciusko, |
| Eleventh..... | S. P. Milligan, Huntington, David Studabaker, Adams, |

Alternates.

Julius Boetticher, Marion,
John Pettit, Tippecanoe,
James W. Gaff, Dearborn,
Samuel A. Hall, Cass.

Alternates.

S. M. Holcomb, Gibson,
George E. Green, Knox,
Hamilton Smith, Perry,
A. M. Black, Orange,
Sylvanus Manvill, Brown,
Thomas Armstrong, Switzerland,
W. H. Dodd, Ohio,
James B. Foley, Decatur,
Charles Gough, Henry,
Eli Pigman, Union,
B. W. Cooper, Hancock,
W. H. Jennings, Johnson,
Melvin McKee, Putnam,
Stephen G. Burton, Sullivan,
William A. Sangster, Fountain,
J. C. Applegate, Carroll,
William B. Loughbridge, Miami,
John C. Walker, Laporte,
Charles W. Seeley, Elkhart,
S. W. Sprott, DeKalb,
Newton Bromell, Wells
Howard Coe, Grant.

KENTUCKY.

*Regular Democratic Delegation.**Delegates at Large.*

Charles A. Wickliffe,
Lazurus W. Powell,
J. R. Buchanan,
William B. Read,

District Delegates.

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| First District..... | L. S. Trimble, G. W. Ratcliff, |
| Second..... | William Sweeney, L. M. Bernard, Trigg, |
| Third..... | Travis Cockrill, Barren, A. C. Finley, Logan, |
| Fourth..... | Charles G. Wintersmith, Hardin, E. A. Graves, Marion, |
| Fifth..... | Joshua F. Bullitt, Nathaniel Wolfe, Jefferson, |
| Sixth..... | Robert Richardson, Robert Q. Terrell, |
| Seventh..... | Thomas N. Lindsey, Franklin, Jesse S. Burrows, |
| Eighth..... | E. F. Halloway, William B. Smith, |

Alternates.

John W. Leathers, Kenton,
W. A. Dudley,
R. C. Palmer,
L. M. Cox,

Alternates.

James Fleming,
William Nolen,
R. R. Houston,
William P. D. Bush,
George C. Rogers, Warren,
John Doanan, Hart,
R. C. Palmer, Washington,
William J. Heady, Bullitt,
Asa P. Grover, Owen,
James Speer, Oldham,
William M. Fisher,
O. P. Hogan, Grant,
Ambrose W. Dudley, Franklin,
George W. Craddock, Franklin,
Not appointed,
Not appointed,

Ninth.....Thomas Turner, Montgomery,
Van B. Young, Bath.

J. M. Alexander,
Not appointed.

Union Democratic Delegation.

Delegates at Large.

James Guthrie, Louisville,
James F. Robinson, Scott,
Joseph R. Underwood, Warren,
T. T. Garrard, Clay.

District Delegates.

First District.....J. E. Thompson, Trigg.
S. P. Cope, McCracken.
Second.....John B. Bruner, Breckenridge.
Henry D. McHenry, Ohio,
Third.....J. C. Aikins, Warren,
David King, Logan.
Fourth.....James P. Barbour, Washington.
S. B. Thomas, Hardin.
Fifth.....Hamilton Pope, Louisville.
J. B. English, Owen.
Sixth.....Thornton F. Marshall, Bracken.
John W. Menzies, Keaton.
Seventh.....Richard W. Hanson, Bourbon.
Thomas W. Varnon, Lincoln.
Eighth.....E. L. Vaninkle, Pulaski,
W. J. Lusk, Garrard.
Ninth.....John M. Duke, Mason.
W. L. Sudduth, Bath.

Alternates.

R. T. Jacobs, Oldham,
Zeb. Ward, Woodford,
Benjamin Perkins, Todd,
James White, Clay.

Alternates.

W. W. Gardner, Union,
William Beadles, Graves.
B. L. D. Guffy, Butler,
J. R. Strange, Mecklenburg.
J. F. Lauck, Simpson,
J. Dawson, Hart,
Thomas W. Owings, Meade,
Joseph Chandler, Taylor,
Gibson Mallory, Jefferson,
H. M. Buckley, Henry,
E. H. Smith, Grant,
S. T. Hauser, Pendleton,
John B. Huston, Fayette.
John B. Temple, Franklin,
C. E. Bowman, Garrard,
Henry Bruce, Garrard,
R. Apperson, Jr., Montgomery,
John Wood, Lewis.

ILLINOIS.

Delegates at Large.

John M. Douglas, Chicago
Samuel S. Marshall, Hamilton,
John D. Caton, LaSalle,
Peter Sweat, Peoria.

District Delegates.

First District.....Melville W. Fuller, Chicago,
B. G. Caulfield, Chicago,
Second.....A. M. Harrington Kane,
J. S. Ticknor, Winnebago,
Third.....David Sheean, Jo Daviess,
J. B. Smith, Stephenson,
Fourth.....Thomas Redmond, Adams,
Azro Patterson, Warren,
Fifth.....William W. O'Brien, Peoria,
Justus Stephens, Bureau,
Sixth.....R. N. Murray, Kankakee,
Lewis Steward, Kendall,
Seventh.....Henry Prather, Macon,
Joseph Bodman,
Eighth.....Thomas L. Rogers, McLean,
Virgil Hickox, Sangamon,
Ninth.....H. L. Bryant, Fulton,
W. R. Archer, Pike,
Tenth.....John T. Springer, Morgau,
Robert W. Davis, Montgomery,
Eleventh.....J. J. R. Turney, Wayne,
John Schofield, Clark,
Twelfth.....Amos Watts, Washington,
Robert P. Tansey, Madison,
Thirteenth.....William H. Green, Alexander,
John D. Richeson, Gallatin,
At Large.....Orlando B. Picklin, Coles,
Samuel A. Buckmaster, Madison.

Alternates.

William M. Jackson,
George W. Wall,
Samuel K. Casey,
B. S. Prettyman,

Alternates.

Lambert Tree, Chicago,
John C. Garland, Chicago,
William Price, Lake,
Thomas Hopkins, DeKalb,
Samuel Strawder, Whiteside,
George D. Read, Ogle,
Dennis Smith, Hancock,
G. W. Gates, Rock Island,
Thomas McGee,
George Dent, Putnam,
John Thompson, DuPage,
P. A. Armstrong, Grundy,
John Garrard,
Philip Meyer,
Samuel Maxwell, Livingston,
A. M. Miller, Logan,
N. B. Beer, Cass,
Edward Lanning, Menard,
T. P. Bond, Bond,
John M. Woodson, Macoupin,
John W. Merritt, Marion,
D. M. Christian, Clay,
R. J. Smith, Randolph,
W. T. Brown, Madison,
Charles E. McDowell,
Charles Burnett,
S. P. Shope,
H. W. Billings.

MICHIGAN.

Delegates at Large.

John S. Barry,
Augustus C. Baldwin, Oakland,
Alpheus Felch, Washtenaw,
Nathan Barlow.

District Delegates.

First District.....Theodore J. Campau, Wayne,
David A. Noble, Monroe,
Second.....Rufus W. Landon,
Clark S. Potter,
Third.....George W. Peck, Ingham,
David Johnson,

Alternates.

J. C. Coffinbury,
William M. Fenton, Genesee,
Peter Klein, Wayne,
David A. Noble, Monroe.

Alternates.

William S. Edwards
Henry Hart, Lenawee,
William Francis,
Henry Warner,
John M. French,
S. D. Wooley,

Fourth.....Henry Fralick,
Samuel W. Odell,
Fifth.....William L. Bancroft,
J. M. Wattles,
Sixth.....Hugh McCurdy,
Michael Jeffers.

Mandy D. Howard,
John Lewis,
W. S. Wells,
J. M. Hoyt, Oakland,
Henry J. Buckley,
Charles Plumstead.

MISSOURI.

Delegates at Large.

Christian Kribben,
D. C. Tuttle,
W. A. Hall,
Robert Wilson.

Alternates.

N. C. Clalborne,
Noah Steckey,
N. P. Cook,
R. P. Edmonson.

District Delegates.

First District.....L. V. Bogy,
J. A. Billings,
Second.....D. H. Armstrong,
W. E. Clark,
Third.....F. A. Rozier,
Philip Pipkin,
Fourth.....John S. Phelps,
Scmple Orr,
Fifth.....Thomas L. Price,
A. M. Forbes,
Sixth.....James H. Moss,
John B. Hale,
Seventh.....A. M. Woolfolk,
S. S. McGibbons,
Eighth.....Weston F. Birch, Glasgow,
Fred Rowlands,
Ninth.....R. A. Campbell,
W. A. Alexander.

Alternates.

James C. Edwards,
George Penn,
R. M. Renick,
O. B. Kildan,
Henry L. Caldwell,
William A. Matthews,
M. J. Hubble,
John Gullett,
W. G. Wear,
R. Q. Roach,
A. T. Winsor,
J. H. Birch, Jr.,
E. C. Thomas,
E. Parrott,
Gilchrist Porter,
Charles A. McNair,
M. W. Robinson,
John E. Hutton.

MINNESOTA.

Delegates at Large.

John B. Brishine,
Henry T. Wells,
Michael Doran,
J. H. McKenney,

Alternates.

John A. Peckham,
William H. Noble,
James King,
B. F. Tillotson,

District Delegates.

First District.....Charles H. Berry,
J. B. LeBlond,
Second.....Edward O. Hamlin,
C. H. Lienau.

Alternates.

M. K. Drew,
H. K. Belden,
L. H. Eddey,
Joseph Ulhuann.

WISCONSIN.

Delegates at Large.

George H. Paul, Milwaukee,
Satterlee Clark,
M. M. Cothren,
George B. Smith,

Alternates.

Joshua Ladue,
James Volmar,
J. C. Gregory,
L. W. Graves.

District Delegates.

First District.....Thomas Falvey,
E. G. Ryan,
Second.....John Winans,
A. G. Cook,
Third.....Charles G. Rodolph,
Philo A. Orton, Jr.,
Fourth.....D. W. Maxon,
H. N. Smith,
Fifth.....E. W. Enos,
John Parker,
Sixth.....W. T. Galloway,
L. P. Powers.

Alternates.

P. Carney,
John Wilson,
G. D. Warslow,
N. H. Wood,
B. F. Fay,
A. Carson,
L. G. Dick,
J. R. Bohan,
S. A. Pease,
John P. Hume,
J. W. Beardsley,
L. M. Hawley.

IOWA.

Delegates at Large.

Augustus C. Dodge,
Jerry H. Murphy,
J. F. Bates,
D. O. Finch.

Alternates.

E. B. Bolens,
S. W. Dunham,
Jacob Stark,
L. D. Palmer.

District Delegates.

First District.....Charles Negus,
William Patterson,
Second.....W. P. Frory,
L. B. Dunham,
Third.....G. W. Gray,
O. H. P. Roszell,
Fourth.....Reuben Mickle,

Alternates.

Thomas Christy,
John L. Collins,
N. G. Sales,
George Murray,
C. D. Shambaugh,
S. D. Tupper,
P. H. Bosquet,

Democratic National Convention.

Lemuel B. Patterson,
Fifth.....M. D. McHenry,
L. D. Burns,
Sixth.....E. B. Potter,
John Currier.

A. L. Kimball,
J. C. Watson,
R. B. Parrott,
W. Mullarky,
C. C. Smetzer.

KANSAS.

Delegates at Large.

Wilson Shannon,
William C. McDowell,
L. B. Wheat,
H. J. Stridell.

District Delegates.

First District.....Orlin Thurston,
F. P. Fitzwilliam.

CALIFORNIA.

Delegates at Large.

John B. Weller,
John G. Downey,
John Bigler,
Thomas Hayes.

District Delegates.

First District.....S. B. Stevens,
Clayton Witherel,
Second.....J. S. Berry,
C. S. Weller,
Third.....William Joy Whipple,
C. D. Semple.

OREGON.

Delegates at Large.

Benjamin Stark,
John Whiteaker,
William McMillen,
L. P. Higbee.

District Delegates.

First District.....Jefferson Howell,
N. T. Caton.

PRESENTATION OF THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CONSERVATIVE UNION NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Mr. F. W. HUGHES, of Pennsylvania: The Committee on Permanent Organization, to whom was referred the selection of officers, and the adoption of rules for the government of this body, have unanimously agreed upon the following report—

Mr. COX, of Ohio: I understand, sir, that the Hon. Amos Kendall is present and desires to present a communication to this body. I make a motion, sir, that he be allowed to do so.

Mr. MICHAEL STEWART, of Ohio: I move that it be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without being read.

Mr. MILLER, of Pennsylvania: I trust that the gentleman will withdraw that motion, and that the communication will be read. I think this gentleman should be heard. The most insignificant communication or resolution presented to the convention has been read, and this should be.

Mr. STUART, of Ohio: At the request of Mr. Cox I withdraw my motion.

The following communication was then read:

“MR. PRESIDENT: By direction of the Conservative Union National Convention, held in this city on the 27th inst., the undersigned have the honor to present to the Democratic National Convention a series of resolutions adopted by the former body on that occasion.

(Signed,)

“Yours, respectfully,

“AMOS KENDALL,

“R. J. STEVENS, Secretary.

“President National Convention.

Whereas, The administration, in disregard of the constitution, has proclaimed its adherence to a line of policy alike destructive to the liberties of the people, the integrity of the States, and the rights reserved to them, and calculated not only to impel the sections North and South to interminable war, to bring financial ruin upon all, and has proved its want of disposition and utter inability to administer the government in the spirit of its founders; and

Whereas, It is incumbent on all national administrations, and all delegates and political bodies, to respect the wishes of the people and defend their rights; and

Whereas, We have this day assembled in national convention for deliberation and such action as

will most lead to unite the conservative elements in opposition to the re-election of Mr. Lincoln and the continuance of his policy; and

Whereas, The people of the whole country have an undying attachment to the old Union, and a joint interest in Bunker Hill and Mount Vernon, which they will never surrender; therefore

Resolved, That we will maintain the Union and Constitution.

Resolved, That the only peaceful solution of existing evils lies through the unrestrained exercise of our elective rights at the coming election, the displacement of the present administration and its policy, and the guarantee to all the people of the States of their constitutional rights, by the election of a President upon whose integrity, patriotism, and ability the country can safely rely.

Resolved, That the declaration of Southern leaders and the recent announcement of Mr. Lincoln of the only conditions upon which they will respectively listen to terms of peace, are alike impracticable and derogatory to the intelligence of the American people, and that, in opposition thereto, we are in favor of the earliest peace attainable on the basis of the constitution and the Union.

Resolved, That we concur in the action of the Union Conservative National Convention, held at Independence Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, on the 28d day of December, 1863, and reiterate the nomination by the people of Gen. George B. McClellan, believing that his triumphant election is certain, and will result in immediate peace, with the restoration of the government; and, in case of his nomination by that body, we pledge the cordial and united support of the conservative men of country to their State electoral tickets.

Resolved, That the services of our soldiers in the field, and the sufferings of those languishing in prison, can only be compensated for by the sympathy of our people and early termination of their mutual efforts in an honorable peace, and the reunion of our confederacy, without a star blotted or a stripe erased from our national ensign.

Resolved, That the Conservative Union National Committee is hereby continued and empowered to take such further action as may be necessary for the purposes of the organization, with reference to the future, the maintenance of the Union, and the preservation of constitutional liberty.

[When the name of Gen. McClellan was mentioned in reading these resolutions, it was greeted with such a demonstration of applause as must have satisfied every one, of the deep hold he has upon the public heart. Throughout the vast audience, and from the delegates' platform, cheer after cheer went up for the popular favorite that for many minutes interrupted the business of the Convention.]

Mr. COX, of Ohio: I move, sir, to refer this communication to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. MILLER, of Pennsylvania: Mr. President, whatever disposition may be made of the communication which has just been read, I would respectfully offer as an amendment that it be made part of, and be interpolated in the proceedings of the Convention. [Cheers.]

The PRESIDENT: It will become a part of the proceedings of the Convention as a matter of course.

Mr. OLDS, of Ohio: Is it in order to offer an amendment to the amendment?

The PRESIDENT: It is.

Mr. OLDS, of Ohio: I understand that there is another political body in session in this city, called the Sons of Liberty, and I am told they have addressed a communication to this Convention. And, if the communication, which has just been read, be incorporated into the minutes, I would move in amendment that the report of the Sons of Liberty be also incorporated into the minutes. [Cheers and laughter.]

Mr. MILLER, of Pennsylvania: In answer to the delegate from Ohio, I would say, I do not care what is incorporated in the proceedings, if it but contain such sentiments as are contained in the communication which has just been read. [Cheers.]

Mr. OLDS then withdrew his amendment, and thereupon the resolutions were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

THE PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. HUGHES, of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization and Rules for the Government of the Convention, reported, recommending to the Convention, for its selection, the following officers:

PRESIDENT:

His Excellency, HORATIO SEYMOUR, of New York.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

Joseph Chase, of Maine,
Jared W. Williams, of New Hampshire,
Erasmus D. Beach, of Massachusetts,
B. H. Smalley, of Vermont,
George Taylor, of Connecticut,
Alfred Anthony, of Rhode Island,

S. W. Gilson, of Ohio,
M. W. Shields, of Indiana,
O. B. Ficklin, of Illinois,
John S. Barry, of Michigan,
John S. Phelps, of Missouri,
John A. Peckham, of Minnesota,

Gideon J. Tucker, of New York,
 Andrew B. Cobb, of New Jersey,
 Asa Packer, of Pennsylvania,
 Isaac D. Jones, of Maryland,
 John Merritt, of Delaware,
 James F. Robinson, of Kentucky,

D. W. Maxon, of Wisconsin,
 William Patterson, of Iowa,
 J. S. Berry, of California,
 H. J. Strickler, of Kansas,
 William McMiller, of Oregon,

RECORDING SECRETARIES:

William H. Simpson, of Maine,
 A. S. Wait, of New Hampshire,
 S. B. Phinney, of Massachusetts,
 L. S. Partridge, of Vermont,
 F. L. Allen, of Connecticut,
 Thomas A. Reynolds, of Rhode Island,
 James S. Thayer, of New York,
 Joseph D. Biddle, of New Jersey,
 Frank M. Hutchinson, of Pennsylvania,
 James A. L. McClure, of Maryland,
 Edward L. Martin, of Delaware,
 James P. Barbour, of Kentucky,

E. B. Eshelman, of Ohio,
 A. T. Whittlesley, of Indiana,
 W. W. O'Brien, of Illinois,
 Theodore J. Campau, of Michigan,
 J. A. Billings, of Missouri,
 John H. McKinney, of Minnesota,
 Philo Orton, of Wisconsin,
 John Currier, of Iowa,
 William J. Whipple, of California,
 P. P. Fitzwilliam, of Kansas,
 L. P. Higbee, of Oregon.

READING SECRETARIES:

E. O. Perrin, of New York,
 Isaac R. Diller, of Illinois,

Moses M. Strong, of Wisconsin.

The COMMITTEE further reported, recommending that the rules and regulations adopted by the Democratic National Convention of 1860 be adopted by this Convention for its government.

Mr. C. L. LAMBERTON, of Pennsylvania: I beg to move that the report be adopted.

The motion was unanimously agreed to, and Gov. Seymour was conducted to the chair amidst the most enthusiastic plaudits. It was hardly known until he was seen moving down the aisle toward the speaker's chair, that the motion had been put to a vote—it was done so quietly; but when he appeared upon the stand and bowed a gracious acknowledgement, the delegates and the thousands of persons in the galleries became frantic with enthusiasm. The air was darkened with one grand flourish of hats and handkerchiefs; the delegates arose from their seats and joined in a grand chorus of applause; men in the galleries swung their hats and cheered till they were hoarse; and for several minutes the shouts of the vast multitude were deafening.

The Vice Presidents having been duly seated to the right and left of the chair,

The PRESIDENT arose amid another rapturous outburst of applause, and spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I thank you for the high honor you have conferred upon me in making me President of this body. The importance of the occasion has already been expressed in fitting words by your temporary chairman. I have not language to tell with what anxious solicitude the people of this country watch our proceedings. The prayers of men and women in ten thousand homes go up to heaven that we may be so guided in our deliberations that our action may conduce to the restoration of our Union, to the return of peace, and the maintenance of liberty in this land. [Cheers.]

It is not for me to forecast your action—it is not for me to say what methods may be adopted to relieve this afflicted country of ours. But while I may not speak on that subject, I can, with propriety, allude to the sentiments which animate you all. There is no man here who does not love the Union. [Cheers.] There is no man here who does not desire peace. [Cheers.] There is no man here who is not resolved to uphold the great principles of constitutional freedom. [Applause.]

I know that the utmost importance attaches to all your proceedings. I know it is of vital consequence that you should select such men, as your candidates, as enjoy the confidence of the American people. But beyond platforms and beyond candidates, there are other considerations of still greater significance and importance. When you wish to know what the policy of party will be, you must strive to learn the passions and sentiments which animate that party. Four years ago, in this city, there was an assemblage of citizens from the different parts of our country, who met here for the purpose of placing in nomination a candidate for the Presidency. They put forth declarations that they would not interfere with the rights of the States of

this Union. They did not intend to destroy our country—they did not mean to break down its institutions. But unhappily they were influenced by sectional prejudices, by fanaticism, by bigotry, and by intolerance; and we have found in the course of the last four years that their animating sentiments have overruled their declarations and their promises, and swept them on, step by step, until they have been carried on to actions from which at the outset they would have shrunk away with horror. Even now, when war has desolated our land, has laid its heavy burthens upon labor, when bankruptcy and ruin overhang us, they will not have Union except upon conditions unknown to our constitution; they will not let the shedding of blood cease, even for a little time, to see if Christian charity, or the wisdom of statesmanship may not work out a method to save our country. Nay, more than this, they will not listen to a proposal for peace which does not offer that which this government has no right to ask.

This administration cannot now save this Union if it would. It has, by its proclamations, by vindictive legislation, by displays of hate and passion, placed obstacles in its own pathway which it cannot overcome, and has hampered its own freedom of action by unconstitutional acts. It cannot be said that the failure of its policy is due to the want of courage and devotion on the part of our armies. [Cheers.] Never in the world's history have soldiers given up their lives more freely than have those of the armies which have battled for the flag of our Union in the Southern States. The world will hold that they have done all that arms can do; and had wise statesmanship secured the fruits of their victories, to-day there would have been peace in our land. [Much applause.] But while our soldiers have desperately struggled to carry our banner southward to the Gulf of Mexico, even now the government declares that rebellious discontent has worked northward to the shores of the great lakes. The guaranteed right of the people to bear arms has been suspended by the edict of a General up to the very borders of Canada; so that American servitude is put in bold contrast with British liberty. This administration thus declares to the world it has now no faith in the people of States whose votes placed it in power; and it also admits by such edict that these people have no faith in this administration. While those in power, without remorse, sacrifice the blood and treasure of our people, they will not give up their own passions for the public good. This Union is not held asunder by military ambition. If our political troubles could be referred to the peaceful arbitrament of the contending armies in the field, our Union would be restored, the rights of States would be guaranteed, the sacredness of homes and persons again respected, and an insulted judiciary would again administer the laws of the land. Let not the ruin of our country be charged to our soldiers. It is not due to their teachings or their fanaticism. In my constant official intercourse with them, I have never heard uttered one sentiment of hatred towards the people of the South. Beyond all men they value the blessings of peace and the virtues of mercy, of gentleness and of charity; while many who stay at home cry havoc, and demand that no mercy shall be shown. The bigotry of fanatics and the intrigues of placemen have made the bloody pages of the history of the past three years.

But if the administration cannot save this Union, we can. [Loud applause.] Mr. Lincoln values many things above the Union; we put it first of all. [Continued cheering.] He thinks a proclamation worth more than peace; we think the blood of our people more precious than the edicts of the President. [Cheers.] There are no hindrances in our pathways to Union and to peace. We demand no conditions for the restoration of our Union; we are shackled with no hates, no prejudices, no passions. We wish for fraternal relationship with the people of the South. [Applause.] We demand for them what we demand for ourselves—the full recognition of the rights of States. We mean that every star on our nation's banner shall shine with an equal lustre.

In the coming election men must decide with which of the two parties, into which our people are divided, they will act. If they wish for the Union they will act with that party which does now and always did love and reverence that Union. If they wish for peace, they will act with those who sought to avert this war, and who now seek to restore good will and harmony among all sections of our country. If they care for their rights as persons and the sacredness of their homes, they will act with those who have stood up to resist arbitrary arrests, despotic legisla-

tion, and the overthrow of the judiciary. [Loud and continued applause.] If, upon the other hand, they are willing to continue the present policy of government and condition of affairs, let them act with that organization which made the present condition of our country. And there are many good men who will be led to do this by their passions and prejudices; and our land swarms with placemen who will hold upon power and plunder with a deadly grasp. But as for us, we are resolved that the party who have made the history of our country, since their advent to power, seem like some unnatural and terrible dream shall be overthrown. [Applause]. Four years ago it had its birth upon this spot. Let us see, by our action, that it shall die here where it was born. [Loud and continued cheering.]

In the political contest in which we are now engaged, we do not seek partisan advantages. We are battling for the rights of those who belong to all political organizations. We mean that their rights of speech shall be unimpaired, although that right may be used to denounce us. We intend that rights of conscience shall be protected, although mistaken views of duty may turn the temples of religion into theatres for partisan denunciation. We mean that home rights and the sacredness of the fireside shall be respected by those in authority, no matter what political views may be held by those who sit beneath their roof-trees. When the democratic party shall have gained power, we shall not be less, but more tenacious upon these subjects. We have forborne much because those who are now charged with the conduct of public affairs knew but little about the principles of our government. We were unwilling to present an appearance of factious opposition. But when we shall have gained power, that official who shall violate one principle of law, one single right of the humblest man in our land, shall be punished by the full rigor of the law; it matters not if he sits in the Presidential chair or hold a humbler office under our government. [Cheers.]

We have had upon this floor a touching and significant proof of the folly of this administration, who have driven from its support those upon whom it chiefly leaned at the outset of this rebellion; when their hopes, even for their own personal safety, hung upon the noble men of the border States, [loud and continued cheering,] who, under circumstances most trying, severed family relations and ancient associations, to uphold the flag of our Union. Many of these men are members of this convention. They bear impressed upon their countenances and manifest in their persons the high and generous purposes which animate them; and yet it is true—great God, that it should be true!—that they are stung with a sense of the injustice and ingratitude of low and unworthy men, who have insulted and wronged them, their families and their rights, by vindictive legislation or through the agency of miserable dishonored subordinates. [Cheers.]

Gentlemen, I trust that our proceedings will be marked by harmony. I believe we shall all be animated by the greatness of this occasion. It may be—in all probability it is true—that the future destinies of our country hang upon our action. Let this consideration inspire us with a spirit of harmony. God of our fathers bless us now; lift us above all personal consideration; fill us with a just sense of the great responsibilities which rest upon us, and give again to our land its Union, its peace, and its liberty.

[Enthusiastic and long continued cheering followed the conclusion of Gov. Seymour's remarks. The entire assemblage participated, and thousands of voices united in pouring forth round after round of tumultuous applause. When the enthusiasm had only partially subsided,]

The PRESIDENT came forward, and addressing the assemblage, said: I wish to say one word to the audience here assembled. The delegates who compose this convention have come up from different parts of the Union for the purpose of acting upon your most important interests. We are most happy that you should be the witnesses of our proceedings, but one thing you must bear in mind: That you are not members of this body, and, while our hearts will be cheered to find that patriotic sentiments are received as patriotic sentiments should be by the American people, you must not undertake to attempt to influence the deliberations of the Convention, or allow your feelings to take such form of expression as are unbecoming in the presence of those upon whom rest the responsibilities of the occasion. [Cheers, followed by loud calls for Vallandigham, mingled with applause and hisses.]

ACTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The PRESIDENT then inquired if the Committee on Resolutions were ready to report.

Mr. GUTHRIE, of Kentucky: We are not yet ready. The members of the Committee met last evening and remained in consultation until one o'clock. They talked over all the subject matters deemed proper or necessary in relation to the formation of the platform that we should report here to the consideration of the Convention. They referred to a sub-committee the subject of drawing them up for presentation when this convention should have its forenoon meeting. I will further state that we are not without hopes that in this great emergency we shall come to a conclusion that will receive the approbation, as we fully believe, of the entire democratic party of the United States. If, unfortunately for us, for the country, for its liberties, constitutional and civil, we are doomed to fail, it will not be from a hearty disposition to meet this great emergency. We are those who have determined from the beginning not to despair of the Republic. [Cheers.] Our counsels have been, our counsels will be, to maintain the constitution, to maintain the Union of the States, and secure the earliest possible honorable peace. [Applause.]

Mr. JOHN B. WELLER, of California: As chairman of the sub-committee, I am satisfied that the Committee will be able to report to an adjourned meeting at four o'clock.

Mr. BROWN, of Delaware: I move that when the Convention adjourn it adjourn to that hour. I have no doubt the Convention will approve of the action of the Committee, and we shall be able to conclude our action this afternoon.

The question having been asked whether the sub-committee would report to the standing committee or to the Convention,

Mr. BROWN, of Delaware: It is understood that the general committee will be able to report to the Convention at four o'clock.

Mr. TILDEN, of New York: The general committee on the subject of resolutions was in session until a very late hour last night. It concluded its labors by referring the subject to a sub-committee. That sub-committee has been in session this morning, and is approximating, as rapidly as could be expected, to an agreement upon all questions before it. In the meantime, the general committee has adjourned to meet immediately after your adjournment to-day. Mr. Vallandigham, I understand, doubts whether we can be ready at four o'clock; Mr. Guthrie rather hopes that we can, and I think Gov. Weller, chairman of the sub-committee, entertains a similar hope. I wish to make this explanation, that the Convention may know that it is not a matter of certainty, and may adopt such an order for the progress of its own business as it may deem expedient. I wish to add that upon the adjournment of the general committee and the conclusion of its labors for the day, there was no dissent among the members; but I understand it was the opinion of some gentlemen of the Committee that the clerical labor of getting these papers into shape could not be entirely completed at four o'clock.

Mr. CASS, of Pennsylvania, moved in amendment that when the Convention adjourn it adjourn till to-morrow at ten o'clock.

Mr. BROWN, of Delaware: It is the desire of this convention, that the Committee shall be ready at four o'clock. I take the liberty to state, as one of that committee, that there is not the slightest dissension among us. We have been a unit from the first. [Cheers.] The only reason why it has not reported this morning has been a desire on the part of some gentlemen to procrastinate and waste time. If it is the wish of this convention to close its labors wisely and well, it will adjourn to four o'clock.

Mr. JOHN McKEON, of New York: It is pretty evident by the statements made by the several members of the Committee on Resolutions, that they can come to a conclusion by four o'clock. I understand, by the gentleman from Delaware, that they are almost agreed, and there is but one man hesitating about it; and I am in favor of giving directions to the Committee to report by four o'clock. I do not believe there will be any division in the convention on the subject of a platform after it is reported. There is a feeling here in favor of harmonizing, which cannot be disturbed. [Cheers.] I want that we shall come from this convention showing to the whole world that the democratic party is a unit. [Renewed cheering.] I want, therefore, that we shall act without delay, and that the Committee report at

four o'clock. If the platform is so long that it requires such a clerical force as intimated to copy it out, it ought not to be adopted. [Laughter and applause, mingled with loud cries of "question."]

Mr. CASS, of Pennsylvania: I am as anxious as any of you here can be to conclude the proceedings, and I have every belief that you have that they will reach a happy termination. I think myself that if the resolutions are long they should not be passed; but that is not the question. The question is, what sort of resolutions the Committee will report. I only wish to say that I am assured by a member of that sub-committee, Mr. Vallandigham, that it will be impossible in his opinion to have that report this evening, and, if you come here this afternoon, it will be a loss of time. This information I consider necessary to your action in the matter.

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM, of Ohio: [Amid cheers and some hisses.] I rise only to say that I concur in the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that this committee will not be prepared to report by four o'clock; but that, with perfect harmony and unanimity—should the Convention adjourn—we will be ready to present such a report to-morrow morning as will be entirely satisfactory to the democratic and conservative masses of the country. [Applause.]

Mr. JOHN B. WELLER, of California: The sub-committee has been in session all the morning, and has agreed upon the only portion of the platform that by any possibility could divide the party. [Cheers.] We were all in favor of peace, [renewed cheering], and the only difference of opinion was as to the phraseology to be used in making that declaration. We have agreed in the sub-committee to present it in an unmistakable form. [Enthusiastic applause.] If, therefore, at four o'clock, we are not able to make a complete report, we will be able to report on the only question on which there could be any controversy of opinion here; and, therefore, I hope we will adjourn until four o'clock.

The motion to adjourn until to-morrow was then put and lost.

Mr. LAMBERTON, of Pennsylvania, desired to know if the voices voting were those of delegates or outsiders.

The PRESIDENT said he believed they were delegates.

Mr. SMITH, of Wisconsin: I wish to state, Mr. President, that if the Convention shall adjourn now, the Committee on Resolutions will be prepared to report to the Convention at four o'clock. If the Convention continue deliberating, the Committee will have no time to take up the resolutions and meet the Convention at four o'clock. If the Convention adjourn now, the Committee can agree on a report; for, as it has been said here just now, there is no difference in the Committee except upon mere matters of expression. [Applause.] We are all of us for peace on the basis of the Union and the Constitution—[loud cheers]—and we are ready to agree to this when we can get the matter into form. We sat up late last night, or rather this morning till one o'clock, hearing the expression of individual opinion, till all of us were too weary to do the manual labor required in order to perfect the resolutions. I hope the Convention will adjourn till four o'clock—will adjourn now, and at that hour adopt the platform, put a candidate upon it, and go forth to the people. [Loud cheers.]

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. POWELL, of Kentucky: I move that the Convention now adjourn to meet again at four o'clock this afternoon.

A DELEGATE from New York: I now move as an amendment to the motion that the Committee on Resolutions shall have leave to retire and report the platform to the Convention at four o'clock. Withdrawn.

Mr. PRESIDENT: I think it would be better for the Convention to adjourn now, till four o'clock.

Mr. A. G. THURMAN, of Ohio: Before the main question is put, as I suppose it will carry, I wish to suggest that some one should inform us how we are to get into the building again after we get out.

The PRESIDENT: The Secretary will attend to that.

The SECRETARY: I have to announce for the information of delegates that they will receive tickets at the door as they go out, in order to gain admission this afternoon; and that all persons who receive tickets for seats in the hall, will resume possession of them at the doors as they pass out.

Mr. CHARLES W. CARRIGAN, of Pennsylvania: I make the suggestion that

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the chairman of delegations receive from the doorkeeper the number of tickets each delegation is entitled to, and that they distribute them to the delegates.

The SECRETARY: I am requested to state that the chairman of each delegation will receive immediately after the adjournment the number of tickets to which his delegation is entitled.

The PRESIDENT: The question is, Shall the Convention now adjourn till four o'clock this afternoon?

The motion was carried and the Convention accordingly adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention reassembled, pursuant to adjournment, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions is now prepared to report. [Applause.]

Mr. GUTHRIE of Kentucky: The Committee on Resolutions, after the greatest amount of consideration they have been able to give, in the time they have had to consider the subject, have directed me to report six resolutions, as expressive of the position of the democracy, and their opinions in these perilous times, as to what is necessary to be done. The Secretary of the Committee will read the resolutions.

Mr. WILLIAM WALLACE, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Committee, then read the following

RESOLUTIONS:

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution as the only solid foundation of our strength, security and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both northern and southern.

Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity, or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired,—Justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the Constitution; and a repetition of such acts in the approaching election, will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired; and they hereby declare that they consider that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the constitution; the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual test oaths; and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defence, is calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow citizens who now are, and long have been, prisoners of war in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army and sailors of our navy, who are, and have been in the field and on the sea, under the flag of their country; and in the event of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic have so nobly earned.

[The scene that followed the introduction of these resolutions baffles all description. When the Secretary commenced the reading of the report every ear in the house was inclined to catch the words as they came from his lips. The deep, almost breathless attention of the vast audience was unbroken to the middle of the second resolution, when the popular approbation found vent in cheers which rendered the latter portion of the resolution unintelligible, the voice of the Secretary being totally drowned in the deep volume swelling up around from the lips of thousands. Order having been restored, the resolution was again read, and was listened to in silence until its close,

when the audience again surrendered itself to the wildest enthusiasm, which died away and was renewed a half dozen times before the third resolution could be received. The reading of this resolution called forth applause more tumultuous and deafening than that of the preceding. The other resolutions were also received with applause. When at last the resolutions were adopted—when the people realized that the breakers had been passed, and that a platform, broad enough and strong enough for all, had been adopted, with scarcely a dissenting voice, they were fairly beside themselves with joy. When the vast audience was hoarse and exhausted, order was restored, and the business of the convention was proceeded with.]

Mr. G. W. IRWIN, of Pennsylvania: Mr. President, I move that the resolutions presented be adopted.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen of the Convention, you have heard the resolutions. The question is now on their adoption.

Mr. LONG, of Ohio: I will offer, as an amendment to the resolution, just offered, the first Kentucky resolution drafted by the pen of Thomas Jefferson—a resolution, sir, that from the organization of the Democratic party until the present hour, has always been adopted in every democratic convention that has ever met to put in nomination a President for the United States. I offer that, sir, as an amendment to come in after the first resolution. And I trust, sir, that this Convention, will not ignore the great fundamental doctrine, the very corner stone, the foundation upon which the Democratic party rests. I hope, sir, that the creed of the party that has made it what it is,—that has made it great and glorious, as it is and always will be—will not be ignored by this Convention in this hour of its peril,—a time above all others, since its organization, when the fundamental principles upon which it is established should be re-affirmed and re-adopted by this Convention, now here assembled. I offer that resolution, and ask that the Secretary may read it to the Convention, to come in after the first resolution:

Resolved, That the several States composing the United States of America are not united upon the principle of unlimited submission to their general government, but by the compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States, and of amendments thereto, they constituted a general government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving, each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and, that whenever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthorized, void, and of no force; that to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party; that this government, created by this compact, was not the exclusive or final judge of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the constitution, the measure of its powers; but, as in all other acts of compact, among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

Mr. MILLER, of Pennsylvania: In view of the motion that I have made, I move that the resolution be laid upon the table.

The PRESIDENT: Under the rules of this convention, adopted this morning, the resolution will go to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. COX, of Ohio: I move the previous question on the adoption of the platform as reported by the Convention.

Mr. LONG, of Ohio: I hope my colleague will withdraw his motion for one moment. [Cries of "no"] I desire to offer an additional amendment. I did not suppose, sir, that after the report of the committee reporting the platform in full had been received, when an amendment was offered to it, that it would be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. I hope my colleague will permit me to offer another amendment, even if it has to take the same course as did the last. I will state to him, it is an amendment in plain and unequivocal terms for peace. I leave it without effort, without exertion; I leave it in plain, unvarnished terms, demanding peace; and I understand the people ask it. I am not here to be cheated and deceived by the phraseology of language ingeniously employed to mean one thing and be interpreted one way by one person of this convention, and by another in an entirely different way.

The PRESIDENT: Will the gentleman wait a moment? The chair holds, the gentleman is now out of order. When the gentleman rose, I heard him for the purpose of learning what he had to say as to the ruling of the chair. As to the resolution he offered, under the rule adopted, the resolution was properly held to belong to the Committee on Resolutions. The proposition is one distinctly differing from

the resolutions offered by the committee; so the chair has decided that it has to be referred. The gentlemen is going beyond the latitude the chair can give him under the resolution the Convention has adopted for its own government. [Applause.] The question is upon the adoption of the resolutions reported by the committee. Those who are in favor of their adoption will say "aye." [The affirmative vote was given by the delegates in one unanimous shout.] Those opposed will say "nay." [One or two voices arose with negative votes from the body of the hall.] So the resolutions were adopted, when applause rose, cheer upon cheer, oft repeated from the floor and galleries alike.

THE NOMINATIONS.

Mr. R. BRUCE PETRIKEN, of Pennsylvania: I now move you, Mr. President, that we now proceed to nominate a candidate for President of the United States.

Mr. SAMUEL G. KING, of Pennsylvania: I second that.

The motion being submitted to the convention prevailed.

Mr. JOHN P. STOCKTON, of New Jersey: At this time of peril in our country's history, with a full knowledge of the responsibility to my State, of my duty to my country, and of my duty to my God, in the name of the people of New Jersey, and by the unanimous vote of our delegation, I nominate to this convention Geo. B. McClellan. [Immense and enthusiastic applause, long continued.] New Jersey nominates Geo. B. McClellan, and thinks that a State which gave such a vote in the last Presidential election should be the first to nominate his successor.

Mr. COX, of Ohio: The pleasing duty has devolved upon me, with such a voice as I have, to second the nomination made by the gentleman from New Jersey. I am a delegate from the State of Ohio, sir, and I beg simply to say that, although George B. McClellan has not his present legal residence in Ohio, in one sense he has been with us and among us, and, as one delegate, at least, from that State, claiming an interest in him, I propose to second the nomination. [Applause.] Mr. President, it is said that seven cities claimed the dead Homer. Connecticut, claims the ancestry of McClellan; Pennsylvania is his birth place; New York has associations with him by many endearing relations; Illinois has loved him, for he has lived among the people of Illinois; and Ohio, I trust, will give him its support, if he be nominated; and the United States of America will claim him as a resident for four years as a resident in the District of Columbia, as President of the United States. [Prolonged cheering.]

Mr. WILLIAM SAULSBURY, of Delaware: I rise, having it for my object to nominate for the Presidency of the United States, Lazurus W. Powell, of Kentucky. In nominating him, I will state, that he stood up in the Senate of the United States, almost the single champion of American liberty. He is from a border State upon which the tyrant's hand has fallen with heavy weight, and to him the State of Delaware turns, to put in nomination her son, and her favorite son, too.

Mr. POWELL, of Kentucky: For the honor the delegates of the State of Delaware have conferred upon me, in presenting my name to this convention as a candidate for the Presidential chair, I return my heartiest thanks. I firmly believe, Mr. President, that sound policy indicates that the candidate for the Presidency at this awful crisis in our country's history should come from one of the non-slaveholding States. I regard it as a patriotic duty to request of my honorable friend to withdraw my name. [Applause.] Delaware, I believe, was the first to ratify the constitution; and I am convinced of what I know of the true-hearted loyalty of her people, she will be the last to sin, and she would not raise convention here. I say to my friends, withdraw my name, and I have no doubt that Kentucky, as also Delaware, will give a large majority for the nominee of this convention. Take away the bayonet from the throats of our people, and Kentucky's voice will go up like thunder from heaven for the nominee of this convention, the restoration of the Union, and the liberty of the people.

Mr. STUART, of Ohio: In behalf of a respectable number of the Ohio delegation, I have the honor to place in nomination the name of Hon. Thomas H. Seymour, of Connecticut. [Loud and enthusiastic cheering.]

Mr. MILLER, of Pennsylvania: Mr. President, I move that the nominations be now closed. [Cries of "No, no."]

Mr. WICKLIFFE, of Kentucky: I am directed by a portion of the delegates of;

the State of Kentucky to place before this convention the name of Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire. [Great applause.]

Mr. BENJAMIN G. HARRIS, of Maryland: I rise to second the nomination of Thomas H. Seymour, of Connecticut; and, in doing so, I beg to say one word to the Convention in favor of him. Thomas H. Seymour is second to no man in the country. His record is before the country and no man dare to say that there is a stain upon it. We have come here from the down-trodden State of Maryland and we do not desire to see placed in nomination the man most active in oppressing her. We have been oppressed, as you know. All our rights have been trampled upon and the strong arm of the military has been over us, and as it rests upon us now, it was instituted by your nominee. [Confusion of applause and hisses, mainly from the galleries.] Admit the fact that all our liberties and rights have been destroyed, and I ask you, in the name of common sense, in the name of justice, in the name of honor, will you reward the man who struck the first blow? [Applause and hisses.] From the indications I see here to-day, I have reason to fear that the man who has been in the front of this usurpation will be the successful candidate.

Mr. LAMBERTON, of Pennsylvania: I rise to a point of order. There is no question before the Convention.

Mr. OLDS, of Ohio: I rise to a point of order. [Confusion.]

The PRESIDENT: Will the gentleman state his point of order?

Mr. OLDS, of Ohio: My point of order is this: [Hisses and a voice, "Give us free speech."] It is not against the speech I raise the question. My point of order is this: We have met here as a deliberative convention, to nominate a candidate for the Presidency and a candidate for the Vice Presidency, and, while from these galleries are uttered such marks of applause and disapprobation, we cannot proceed with the business of the Convention.

The PRESIDENT: I implore the Convention, and above all I implore the many thousands of freemen here assembled, in God's name, not to violate the freedom of speech on this occasion. [Loud cheers.] He who will is not a true friend of the democratic party. [Cheers.] In answer to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, I would say that the order now is the presentation of candidates for the Presidency. [Cheers.] The gentleman from Maryland is in order. [Applause.]

Mr. HARRIS: I am in the habit of contending for the liberty of speech; I have been censured on the floor of our State Senate for the exercise of that right; and my right on this occasion is to speak concerning the character of the men whom you have presented. I claim it as a right to state that one of the men whom you have nominated is a tyrant. [Hisses and cheers.] Gen. McClellan was the very first man who inaugurated the system of usurping State rights. [Uproar.] This I can prove, and I pledge myself, if you will hear me, to prove every charge in the indictment. And it is the duty of a jury when a charge is made which is proven, to convict and not reward the offender. Maryland has been cruelly trampled upon by this man, and I cannot consent, as a delegate from that State, to allow his nomination to go unopposed. What you ask me to do is, in reality, to support the man who stabbed my own mother; and I for one—and I believe I speak for the whole delegation from Maryland—will never do it. We will never, never consent that the State of Maryland shall be so dishonored. What, is it a fact that you care nothing for the dishonor of a sovereign State? Is it really the case that you can consent that the man who overthrew liberty and crushed under foot the free institutions of a State shall receive reward instead of punishment for his tyranny? In old times it was the doctrine that an injury done to one State was an injury inflicted on all; and, instead of rewarding the perpetrator of the injury, each State should come forward to resent it. Now you propose a reward in the shape of Presidential honors to the man who first set the iron heel of despotism upon my State. In the first place he arrested—

Mr. PETRIKEN, of Pennsylvania: I rise, sir, to a question of order. I ask, is it in order, is it competent in a delegate, while rising, possibly to propose a candidate for the Presidency, to discuss the merits of another candidate? [Cheers.]

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen of the Convention, the gentleman from Pennsylvania has risen to a point of order. It is this—whether a gentleman has a right, in presenting the name of a candidate, to discuss the merits of others who have been already placed in nomination. The chair is of opinion that, inasmuch as it is the right of every delegate, in presenting the name of a candidate, to urge considerations in his favor, it is equally the right of others to discuss the merits of that

candidate. [Cheers.] But, while the chair feels itself impelled to make that decision, it once more appeals to every delegate to see that the mode of presenting objections is not such as shall tend to destroy the harmony of this convention. [Loud cheering.]

Mr. HARRIS: [Reading from a newspaper.] The date of this is September 12th, 1861; and it is as follows:

Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks, U. S. A.:

GENERAL: After a full consultation with the President, Secretaries of State, War, &c., it has been decided to effect the operation proposed for the 17th. Arrangements have been made to have a government steamer at Annapolis to receive the prisoners and carry them to their destination.

Some four or five of the chief men in the affair are to be arrested to-day. When they meet on the 17th you will have everything prepared to arrest the whole party; and be sure that none escape. It is understood that you will arrange with Gen. Dix and Gov. Seward the *modus operandi*. It has been intimated to me that the meeting might take place on the 14th; please be prepared. I would be glad to have you advise me frequently of your arrangements in regard to this very important matter.

If it is successfully carried out, it will go far towards breaking the back-bone of the rebellion. It will probably be well to have a special train quietly prepared to take the prisoners to Annapolis. I leave this exceedingly important affair to your tact and discretion—the absolute necessity of secrecy and success.

With the highest regard, I am, my dear General, your sincere friend,
(Signed)

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN,
Major General U. S. A.

[The delegate read this letter amidst considerable uproar and confusion.]

Mr. HARRIS: Now, sir, that was in 1861—

A DELEGATE: I move that after all this is read, it be published in the black republican papers. [Laughter.]

Mr. HARRIS: I am here for the purpose of presenting to this convention the character of the man whom you have nominated, and it seems you do not wish to hear it. [A voice, "We know it."] Yes, you know it, and yet refuse to allow it to be made known. [Three cheers were here called for McClellan and were given with a will.] Well, sir, this is the document on which George B. McClellan, in September, 1861, broke up the Legislature of a sovereign State, deliberately and with full purpose, in order to exercise tyranny and oppression in advance of Abraham Lincoln. Now here is a man who has violated the laws of our State—here is a man who has dealt a fatal blow to the institutions of our country; and yet you ask delegates from Maryland—you ask those who sympathise with Maryland as none else can sympathise—you ask men who are still smarting under the wrongs by McClellan inflicted, to go to the polls and cast their free votes for such an one as he! Why, Mr. President, how long do you suppose it was since the representatives of Maryland were immured within the walls of Fort Warren? Sixteen months did Wallace, and Scott, and their comrades and colleagues, suffer imprisonment within the walls of that prison, deprived of the sympathy of their friends and the comforts of home. Sixteen long months the prison doors were closed upon them, and the man by whom they were closed was George B. McClellan, whom you indicate as your favorite to-day. [Cheers and disapprobation.] Well, sir, I look upon the acts of Gen. McClellan as not striking at the free ballot of the State of Maryland, but as tyranny over the Legislature of the State. And all the charges you can make against Abraham Lincoln and against Benjamin Butler, I can make and sustain against this man, George B. McClellan. [Hisses, cheers, and great confusion.] I now proceed to another count in the indictment. On Oct. 29th, 1861, he thus wrote:

GENERAL: There is apprehension amongst Union citizens in many parts of Maryland of at tempted interference in the election to take place on the 6th of November next. In order to prevent this, the Major General commanding—[and who, gentlemen, was the Major General commanding but George B. McClellan?—] directs you to send a sufficient detachment to protect Union voters and to see that nothing is allowed to interfere with their rights as voters.

[Here the speaker was interrupted with cries of "That's right," "Good! good!" while vociferous cheers were given for Gen. McClellan.]

The PRESIDENT: I trust this convention will give the gentleman from Maryland a fair hearing. You are not only doing an injustice to that gentleman by interrupting, but to Gen. McClellan also. [Cheers.] There is no attack made here which cannot be made elsewhere; and the devoted friends who are supporting him here desire that all the charges which can be urged against him may be preferred at once, as they feel that they are each and all susceptible of a satisfactory explanation. [Loud cheering.] I repeat that these interruptions, on the part of the audience, are not only unjust to the cause, unjust to the gentleman from Maryland, but

unjust to the distinguished man who has been placed in nomination. [Cheers.] When the gentleman has concluded his remarks—and I trust he will be allowed to do so without further interruption—a full opportunity will be given to one in the Convention who stands ready to make the fullest explanation of the course of Gen. McClellan. [Prolonged cheers and cries of "Good."]

Mr. HARRIS, of Maryland: I want nothing, sir, but a fair field, I assure you. [Cries of "Hurry up, for God's sake," and much confusion, amidst which one of the Ohio delegation here walked across the amphitheatre, and requested Mr. Harris to go to the platform, which, after some reluctance, he consented to do.]

The PRESIDENT rose amidst the prevailing confusion and said: I hope the Convention will allow the gentleman from Maryland to present his remarks in his own way. When he has said what he desires to say, there will be ample opportunity to reply.

A DELEGATE: I wish to move that the speakers be restricted to one hour.

The PRESIDENT: And the delegate from Maryland has not yet occupied his hour. [Laughter.]

Mr. HARRIS: I would have concluded long ago, Mr. President, except for the interruptions that have been made by this assembly itself; and, certainly, you cannot take advantage of your own wrong, and prevent me from proceeding. [The speaker then read the remainder of the letter, which authorized Gen. Banks, in order to prevent these alleged treasonable designs, to "suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*."] Now, sir, who feared the disunionists of Maryland would ever interfere with the unionists? With the power in the hands of the administration, with the power in the hands of the Governor of Maryland, where, in the name of God, was it to be supposed, except in the mind of some hypocrite, that it was necessary for a military force to come into the State and suspend that great writ, the *habeas corpus*. [Cheers.] And why were these "disunionists" of Maryland allowed to go at large until the day of election? Said he, you must arrest them before going to the polls and you may discharge them after the election. [Cheers.] Why was this done? Why, if there was danger to the country in allowing these men to remain at large, were they not arrested before the day of election in the State, by order of this Gen. McClellan? Those things that we have charged so frequently against Abraham Lincoln, he, George B. McClellan, has been guilty of himself. [Cheers and hisses.] Sir, he declares that, under the plea of military necessity—that tyrant's plea of military necessity—Abraham Lincoln has the power of abolishing one of the institutions of Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky; the power of abolishing the institution of slavery—a great right that you consider yourselves bound to protect and to protect Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky, in protecting. Now, what have you to say to this charge against George B. McClellan. [Cheers and hisses.] You have to meet them one way or another, for they will be made by an opponent, and it is better to hear them from a democrat before the canvass commences. [Cheers.] What, then, have you to say in his favor? Why, as a military man, he has been defeated everywhere. [Cries of "No, no," and cheers.] The siege of Richmond was not, I think, a success; the battle of Antietam was not a success, and in him as a military leader you have nothing whatever to brag of, while you have combined with military incapacity the fact that he has interfered with and destroyed the civil rights of the people. If Gen. McClellan, when Abraham Lincoln told him to arrest the Legislature of Maryland, had said to him, "I have received a commission as commander at your hands—you can take it back before I become a tyrant," he would have stood before the world as a man; but inasmuch as he received and acted upon instructions which struck a blow at civil liberty, he became the mere tool of Abraham Lincoln. [Cheers and hisses.] I recollect the story of a military man in the time of Louis XIII. The King, Louis, bore much hatred to the great Conde and, resolving to get rid of him, sent a commission to a Marshal of his army to procure him some one who would despatch him. The Marshal replied, "Sire, we have many brave and gallant soldiers in our army, but we have not one assassin." But Abraham Lincoln was able to find an assassin of State rights in George B. McClellan. [Cheers for McClellan and hisses.]

You ask me to go home to Maryland—bound and persecuted Maryland, which has suffered every injury since the tyrant put his iron heel upon it—you ask me to return there, and, going forward to the polls, vote for George B. McClellan, the very man who destroyed her liberties. [Cheers.] You ask me to go home and see my friends

in the Maryland Legislature—men who were put in prison, whose property was destroyed, and whose families were left beggars upon the world, and by the orders of this man; and yet, remembering their imprisonment and suffering, I am asked to walk up to the polls and vote for him. [Cheers.] I cannot do it. I never will do it. [Loud cheers, hisses, and much excitement, a number of the delegates rising to their feet and making gestures denoting much feeling.]

Mr. CARRIGAN, of Pennsylvania: Mr. President, I rise to a point of order. The gentleman from Maryland, in presence of this convention, has declared that he will not vote for the gentleman who may be nominated by this convention. Having made such a statement, I submit, Mr. President, that he is not a fit member of this convention. [Cheers, mingled with cries, "Yes, yes." "No, no."] I repeat, that the man who publicly declares within the walls of the Convention of the democratic party of the United States, that he will not vote for its nominee is not fit to be a member of the Convention. [Loud cheers and much confusion.]

The PRESIDENT: The gentleman from Pennsylvania rises to a point of order—whether a member of the Convention, having declared that he will not vote for the nominee of the Convention, should be allowed to retain his seat in the Convention. [Cries of "No, no." "Yes, yes."]

Mr. HARRIS: I am free to say that I will not do it.

The PRESIDENT: The decision of the chair upon the point of order raised by the gentleman from Pennsylvania is, that those who will not submit to the decision of the Convention have no right to take part in its proceedings. [Great cheering.]

[Mr. Harris then left the platform and resumed his seat in the body of the hall. There immediately followed a scene of considerable excitement. The members of the Convention nearly all sprang to their feet, some of them looking menacingly at the member from Maryland, around whom there was some slight commotion. The excitement, however, abated almost as quickly as it was aroused, upon the President calling the Convention to order.]

Mr. CARRIGAN: The personal relations existing between the gentleman from Maryland and myself have, ever since I have known him, been of the most friendly character; but in view, sir, of the morality of this convention—its political morality, of which you spoke—I felt myself compelled at the moment he made the declaration he did, to rise to the point of order. Now, sir, I respect the gentleman, and, as I said before, our relations have always been friendly; and I now move that the gentleman have the privilege of proceeding with his remarks in order. [Loud applause.]

The PRESIDENT put the motion, which was carried by a nearly unanimous vote amid loud cheering.

Mr. UNDERWOOD, of Kentucky: Mr. President, I regret exceedingly that the condition of my voice is such that I am hardly able to be heard by this vast assemblage; but I rise with a view to attempt to pour a little oil upon the troubled waters. I trust, sir, that we shall have harmony—harmony in our councils, harmony in our actions, harmony in everything we do; and I trust the results of our assemblage here will be carried out by the united voice of the people when we return home. [Cheers.] Allow me to say, sir, that I came here having before I left home somewhat considered the objections which could be made to the prominent individual whose name is now before the Convention and the country, and who is likely to be the candidate of this convention for the Presidency. I suppose other gentlemen came in the same way; and, if we are to take up all the objections which can be urged to every individual who has been named here, I ask this body when are we to adjourn? [Cheers.] It is perfectly impracticable to follow this course. I presume, from the fact of the American people sending their representatives here, giving instructions in some instances, and from the conferences which have taken place among the delegations since their assemblage in this place, that these objections have been generally considered, and that we have come here to vote rather than to discuss. [Cheers.] Now, sir, allow me to refer you to two historical facts which, I think, are a complete answer to all that has been urged by the gentleman from Maryland. In the war of 1812 Gen. Jessup was sent to watch the Hartford Convention, and was instructed by Mr. Madison, if there was any disposition shown to commit an overt act of treason, to seize all the members of that body. [Laughter and cheers.] Gen. Jackson, again, acting upon his own responsibility, and without in-

structions from the President of the United States, interfered with the Legislature of Louisiana; and I would to God—if the Convention will pardon me—that we had a man here with that iron nerve, that inflexible will, that perception of men's character, that determination and patriotism which Old Hickory so eminently possessed. [Cheers.]

A DELEGATE: Why did you not vote for him?

Mr. UNDERWOOD: I had a preference for Henry Clay—[laughter]—and if the gentleman, whoever he is, who asked that question wished to discuss the matter, I could readily convince him that he would have agreed with me. [Renewed laughter.] Sir, I did not come here to advocate Whig principles; but I came here because the country which I love with all my heart, with all my soul, is in imminent danger of destruction. [Cheers.] I came here to unite with everybody who is willing to unite with me, in order to remove from office that misguided and tyrannical man who has brought the nation into its perilous position. [Loud cheers.]

A DELEGATE: And do you wish to set up a greater tyrant?

Mr. UNDERWOOD: No, I do not; and I hope the gentleman will allow me to state that, after taking all these things into consideration, both at home and since I came here, that part of the Kentucky delegation with which I came here has directed me to cast five and one-half votes—all you have allowed us—for General George B. McClellan. [Enthusiastic cheering.]

Mr. MORGAN, of Ohio, said:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: As a personal friend and former comrade in arms of George B. McClellan, I cannot remain quiet upon this occasion without replying to the charges of the distinguished gentleman from Maryland. Deeply do I regret, Mr. President, that the first assault upon the democratic organization in this campaign should come from a man who claims to be a democrat; and much more do I regret and am I astonished at the manner in which the charge was made and the character of the charge itself. I do not impute to the gentleman a desire to wilfully and deliberately misrepresent the facts; but, nevertheless, the statements as made, are untrue, as I hope I may be able to convince you. What are the facts? Who did George B. McClellan arrest? I find that the paper from which the gentleman reads is the *New York Tribune*, and in replying to him I will also reply to his worthy co-associate, Mr. Greeley of the *Tribune*.

At the time these arrests were ordered, the Maryland Legislature was in session at Annapolis. General Joseph Johnston was in command of the rebel army at Winchester. There was a conspiracy on foot, and four or five persons here were the conspirators, between General Johnston and this Legislature, to accomplish the invasion of Maryland. This Legislature was in communication with General Johnston, one of the best and most distinguished Generals of the Confederate Army. This Legislature was to have passed an ordinance of secession—the gentleman knows the meaning of that term; they were to have withdrawn to the town of Frederick and there issued the ordinance of secession, and, in direct and immediate concert with this ordinance, Johnston was to invade Maryland with an overwhelming force; and certain men in Maryland—the gentleman can state best who—were to have aroused the people of Maryland in arms against the sovereignty of the United States. George B. McClellan, then Commander-in-Chief of our armies, had he acted otherwise than he did, would have been guilty of treason himself. I know well that the worthy gentleman from Maryland does not know George B. McClellan. He calls him a tyrant. Why, sirs, if there be one man beneath the heavens who is not a tyrant, that man is George B. McClellan. [Cheers.] If there is one man who is a lover of liberty, one man who has combined in himself the gentleness of a woman and the courage of a lion, that man is George B. McClellan. [Applause.] These facts I knew myself. They were represented to me at the time they occurred. I have them in black and white from George B. McClellan himself. Moreover, but two nights ago, Gen. Burns, of the United States Army, was in this city. He took tea with me, and, during the evening, this Maryland matter was talked about, and he told me the fact that he had at that time command of the American forces at Leesburg for the purpose of watching the movements of Joe Johnston in connection with his associates of Maryland. He told me that he had been informed by General McClellan, at that time, of all the facts, and was instructed to keep watch and war-

both over the traitors within Maryland and the traitors beyond the river. [Applause.] Now, sirs, this is a brief statement of the facts. I did not intend nor expect to open my lips upon this occasion, but before taking my seat I must speak of another point. The gentleman has found a mare's nest. The gentleman talks of troops being sent by George B. McClellan to suppress the liberty of the ballot. Why, the very order itself states in distinct words that the object of the troops sent there was to protect the Union citizens who, it was feared, would be deprived of their right to a free vote by intimidation at the ballot box. These are the unmistakable historical facts connected with these transactions and with these people. They were men who had been over in Virginia, and, when our country became unfortunately involved in this civil war, they were in direct communication with the southern Generals. In accordance with the laws of war these people, who were guilty of direct communication with the enemy, and who invited the invasion of Maryland, by the laws of war, instead of being arrested would have been executed as spies; for such they were. They were communicating information to the enemy. They were guilty of high treason in furnishing the enemy with information, and against these men and the intended intimidation at the polls this order was given. My friends, I only rose to make this statement, and to disabuse your minds of the no doubt unintentional misstatements set forth by the distinguished gentleman who gave utterance to them as they were published by Horace Greeley. But I will say this, that I not only know General McClellan now, but have known him from boyhood. I knew him when a boy of sixteen, and a truer democrat never lived. [Cheers.] His whole heart was inspired with love for the democratic party, and a veneration amounting almost to worship for those great cardinal democratic principles taught by Jefferson and Madison, and as re-taught by the immortal Jackson. But I tell you, knowing this man as I do, I say with a certainty that in passing over at this time, in this great emergency of our country, great and distinguished statesmen, men of high ability, deserving the confidence of the people, and singling out that man, gives the best evidence, not only of his purity and patriotism, not only of his qualities as a warrior, but of his wise sagacity as a patriot statesman. [Loud cheering.]

Mr. EATON, of Connecticut: Mr. President, as a neighbor and friend of Col. Thomas H. Seymour it becomes my duty as a delegate on this floor, to state that it was not the intention of the delegation from Connecticut to place him in nomination before this convention. A more gallant soldier, a more accomplished gentleman, a more reliable statesman than Thomas H. Seymour, treads not God's earth. No man knows him who loves him not. It is not our intention to place him in nomination. It was not our intention, and my friend from Maryland who seconded the nomination, and my friend from Ohio who placed that name before this convention, did so without our knowledge and without our consent. We had no consent to give, sir, and it was without the knowledge or consent of Governor Seymour himself. Thomas H. Seymour, Mr. President, is worthy of any office in the gift of a free people. Thomas H. Seymour has no superior throughout this broad land. [Applause.] I do not hesitate to say to this convention what I would say to General McClellan himself, that Thomas H. Seymour, of all men of God's moulding, is my candidate. But if the gentleman from Ohio, and the gentleman from Maryland, and gentlemen from other States see fit to put Col. Seymour in nomination, I, of course, have not the power to withdraw his name. I hope every man will vote for him. Many a long summer day will you travel before you can do better. One word more, and I have done. I make these remarks simply to show that Col. Seymour knew nothing of this nomination, and cannot be mixed up in any way with any charge that may be brought against General McClellan. It is proper for me to say that George B. McClellan and Thomas H. Seymour have long been strong personal friends. [Applause.] Therefore the Convention will understand, and the country will understand, that Thomas H. Seymour's name has been used without his knowledge; that it has been used not by the request of the delegation from Connecticut—for I said to my distinguished friend from Maryland only yesterday that we did not desire to place Col. Seymour in nomination—that Connecticut does not nominate him. If the States see fit to place him in nomination and vote him in as their candidate, Connecticut, of course, will be found aiding by her vote; otherwise, Connecticut will not cast her vote for Col. Seymour.

Mr. HARRIS, of Maryland: In speaking of General McClellan, I commented freely on his character, and I said that I could not ask the people of Maryland with any kind of force—I could not make any argument—to induce them to vote for him; nor could I ask the members of that Legislature whom I thought he had treated cruelly and tyrannically, to go to the polls and vote for him. I did not say that, having participated in the nominations and proceedings of this convention, I would not myself abide by the nomination, whatever nomination might be made. [Loud applause.] Those who know me might have inferred as much, from the fact that I had seconded the nomination of Thomas H. Seymour as a candidate in preference to General McClellan. I therefore say that if I ballot in this convention upon the nomination of President and Vice President, I shall feel myself bound to cast my vote for the candidate that this convention selects. [Loud cheering.]

Mr. SAULSBURY, of Delaware: I beg leave to withdraw the name of Governor Powell, of Kentucky, presented as a candidate for nomination.

Mr. SPOFFORD, of Massachusetts: I have received both written and verbal instructions from Franklin Pierce, in case of the mention of his name by any of his friends, from any part of the country, to solicit that no use shall be made thereof, in connection with the nomination for the Presidency. Whilst General Pierce, in his retirement, shrinks from no duty and no responsibility which can attach to his position and character as Ex-President of the United States, he feels, sir, that he has received his full share of the honors of the party, and that he has discharged his full share of the duty which it devolved upon him. Believing that our success can rest only upon those great principles which he sought in his administration to exemplify and to support, his only hope has been—and that I am thankful to know has been gratified—that the old standard of principles shall not be abandoned, and that we shall leave Chicago a united, harmonious and to-be-successful party. [Cheers.]

Mr. WICKLIFFE, of Kentucky: Mr. Chairman, it is true, as the gentleman from Massachusetts states, that the delegation from Kentucky of which I compose a part, had no consultation with the delegation from the State of New Hampshire, nor did they consult the distinguished gentleman whose name I presented; but, upon consultation among ourselves, looking at the crisis, and believing that a man of experience in matters of statesmanship and great purity of character, who was unstained as a politician and as a man, who was not connected with any of the imputations or charges, false or true, connected with the military or despotic operations of the army or the officers of the army, would better answer the purpose and carry out the views of our citizens—preferring at all times a civilian to a military man—we decided to present the name of Ex-President Pierce, so distinguished and so well known throughout the United States. But, sir, in obedience to the suggestion of the gentleman from Massachusetts, though unwillingly, I now withdraw the nomination of Franklin Pierce. [Cheers.]

Mr. HOLSMAN, of New Jersey: I move that the nominations be now closed, and that we proceed to the call by States.

Mr. JONES, of Maryland: I regret exceedingly that the honorable gentleman who took the stand to defend Gen. McClellan from the charges preferred by the gentleman from Maryland, put that defence upon the ground that he did. If he had put it upon the ground that Gen. McClellan had credible information upon which he relied, then I would have rested that defence on the ground on which it was put. But when he undertakes to put that defence upon charges of complicity of any members of the Maryland Legislature with the conveyance of information to Gen. Johnston, or inviting or desiring the invasion of Maryland by any member of that Legislature, I beg that this convention will hear me while I show how untrue is any such imputation; although I do not doubt that Gen. McClellan was misled by false witnesses on whom he relied.

Mr. MORGAN, of Ohio: Will the gentleman from Maryland grant me one word? I would deeply regret, not only to do injustice to Maryland, but to any of her gallant sons. The information which I received, and which in the hurry of the moment I did not state as fully as I should, was that the arrest was made upon testimony regarded as credible, and I acted upon the assumption that, hearing nothing to the contrary, that testimony received as credible was so.

Mr. JONES, of Maryland: So far from this charge being credible, it has been,

from the time it was first started in Maryland down to the present moment, denounced as a wilful and deliberate lie, unsustained by a particle of testimony. The gentleman was wrong in more of his statements. The Legislature of Maryland did not convene at Annapolis; Annapolis was held by Federal troops, and Gov. Hicks convened the Legislature to meet at Frederick. There was then no design by meeting at Frederick to meet Johnston or hold any communication with him. They had met at Frederick and there was a petition sent to that Legislature or some proposition made asking it to pass an ordinance of secession. It was referred to a committee. That Legislature was overwhelmingly democratic. The chairman of that committee was Mr. Wallis, one of the most talented and distinguished sons of Maryland, and a man of as pure honor and integrity as any man alive. That committee made a report which was adopted almost unanimously, there being but two or three negative votes, that the Legislature of Maryland then assembled had no power to pass an ordinance of secession. Then that these men, men of honor, men whose character was dearer to them than their lives, that these men with such a record, that they had no power to pass such an ordinance of secession, should have acted as they were accused of acting, is an absurdity as well as a falsehood. There was not one particle of evidence except that of the false witnesses who gave the information to Gen. McClellan, and whose names have never been disclosed. And I will say further, that upon this evidence, which the gentleman says Gen. McClellan considered credible, these members of the Legislature were arrested and put in prison, sent from one prison to another; from Fort Mifflin to Fort Lafayette and Fort Warren, and kept there for fourteen months by this government. If there had been this credible evidence of their complicity with a design to pass an ordinance of secession or to invite the Confederate forces into Maryland, why were they not tried even by a drum-head court martial? They were tendered their liberty if they would sign a parole. Some few of them, overcome by long confinement, their health failing, and their families suffering, did agree to that humiliation; but there were others—and among them the very men who signed the report that they had no power to pass an ordinance of secession—who refused to sign any parole, and demanded a trial upon any charges the government had against them, that, having taken and kept them prisoners, without a trial or formal accusation, and the government not being able to find one witness of anything imputed to them, they had a right as American citizens under the constitution to be absolutely and unconditionally discharged. They put themselves on that ground, and notified the government that they would die in prison before they would give any parole. I know these men personally, and there never were men more pure or untarnished, or who loved their whole country, or desired more sincerely to see its union restored, than these very men.

What interest had they to make their State the Belgium of the Union? No longer than two months ago, in the constitutional convention now sitting at Annapolis, this question was raised and the insinuation made that there was a purpose on the part of that Legislature to take some action looking towards secession and unfriendly to the Union. A member of that Legislature was a member of the convention, and he got up in his place, and, in the face of the people of Maryland, pronounced the statement absolutely and unqualifiedly false. Now let Gen. McClellan's defence be that he was misled by evidence that he deemed credible, and let him have the benefit of it, for "to err is human, to forgive divine." I could not, Mr. President, as a Marylander, knowing these men as I do to be true men, true to our democratic principles, after lying weary months in the casemates of forts, where they had been so unjustly and cruelly incarcerated, hear them accused as they have been here, without giving the charge the completest contradiction the English language will admit. I insist that the charge was false; but I do not believe General McClellan would have acted on any testimony which he did not deem entirely credible. [Applause, and cries of "Question!"]

Mr. HOLSMAN, of New Jersey: I wish to say that I was the obstinate Jerseyman among my delegation who opposed the nomination of Gen. McClellan. At the same time, believing that this question has been already fully ventilated, and that further discussion cannot do any good, I renew my motion to close the nominations and call the States. [Cries of "Question!"]

Mr. LONG, of Ohio: I appeal to my friend from New Jersey to permit me for a few moments to address the convention. [A] [voice, "Free speech."] I ask, the

courtesy of the gentleman for a brief permit to say a few words in relation to the candidates. [Cries of "No, no," "Free speech," etc.]

Mr. HOLSMAN, of New Jersey: I came here opposed to the nomination of Gen. McClellan because I did not consider it one which ought to be made; but in deference to the wishes of my thirteen associates, I yielded. This question has been thoroughly discussed on both sides, and further discussion will not change a single vote; so I must insist on my motion.

Mr. LONG, of Ohio: I have before been prevented from expressing myself upon the resolutions. I now appeal to my friend from New Jersey not to strike down the freedom of speech in a democratic convention.

Mr. HOLSMAN, of New Jersey: I, myself, to some little extent, though not as much as many gentlemen here, have suffered for free speech. It is two years ago that I was the first to propose in any assemblage an armistice and a convention.

Mr. LONG, of Ohio: I believe, having the floor, I have a right to proceed.

Mr. HOLSMAN, of New Jersey, called for the previous question.

Mr. O'BRIEN, of Illinois: I desire to make a nomination, and for that purpose I ask as a favor that the gentleman from New Jersey will withdraw his motion.

Mr. HOLSMAN, of New Jersey declined to do so.

Mr. O'BRIEN, of Illinois: I move that the Convention do now adjourn. [Cries of "No, no."] I do not desire to interrupt the proceedings of this convention or to make any argument. I desire simply to place in nomination a gentleman whose name would be a rock and a tower of strength to the democratic party. And, in behalf of a portion of the delegates of Illinois and a majority of the people of the Northwest, I now place in nomination his Excellency, Horatio Seymour, of New York. [Immense cheering, renewed over and over again, followed this announcement.]

The PRESIDENT: The gentleman is not in order. [Laughter and applause.] The question is upon the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey for a call of the previous question.

Mr. OLDS, of Ohio: I move that when this convention adjourn it adjourn until to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

Mr. LONG, of Ohio called for the vote by States.

Mr. POWELL, of Kentucky: I appeal to the gentleman from New Jersey to withdraw his motion. I never was in a deliberative body where the previous question was used to prevent a nomination for a candidate, and I hope that illiberal principle will never prevail in a democratic convention.

Mr. HOLSMAN, of New Jersey said he had no such intention in offering the motion, which he then withdrew.

Mr. OLDS, of Ohio: I wish to state to the gentlemen of the Convention that in fifteen minutes it will be entirely dark, and there is no way to light this building; and, therefore, I renew my motion to adjourn until to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

The motion was put and lost.

Mr. LONG, of Ohio: I have but a very few words to say and I propose to say them; and I am not afraid to speak what I think, even in the face of gentlemen who don't want to hear. I have faced the music before and I am willing to do it here. Although I had the honor, with the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HARRIS] of being put down by points of order, that he and I are both familiar with, in a republican Congress, yet I propose to give my views briefly of the qualifications of a candidate proposed for the Presidency in this campaign.

Now, gentlemen of the Convention, what have we complained of for the last three or four years? What has been the burden of our complaint against Mr. Lincoln and his administration? He has abridged the freedom of speech, he has arbitrarily arrested citizens and confined them in bastilles, and he has interfered with the freedom of elections. What have you proposed in these resolutions? You have, to a certain extent, vindicated the freedom of speech, you have condemned arbitrary arrests and denounced interference with the freedom of elections; and yet you propose in George B. McClellan to place upon that platform one who has gone farther in all three of these measures than has Abraham Lincoln himself. [Hisses and applause.] George B. McClellan has not contented himself with the arrest of a citizen here and there and incarcerating him in a bastille, but has arrested an entire Legislature by one order. He has also suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* of which you have complained. [Voices "Never."] He has acquiesced in the emancipation proc-

lamentation of which you have complained of Mr. Lincoln [loud cries of "No.,"]; and yet you propose, in the very face of the denunciations you have heaped upon the head of Mr. Lincoln, to stultify yourselves by taking up a man who has been a supple instrument of Mr. Lincoln for carrying out the very acts you denounce.

Gentlemen, what did we come here for as representatives of the great democratic party? The people ask for peace. [Applause.] Their eyes have been turned to this convention. Millions of hearts are this evening, while we are assembled here, waiting in anxious suspense to know as to the platform and candidate you are to give them, that will either send a thrill of joy to their breasts or will strike them down with terror. What is it that is weighing more heavily on them than anything else? A draft is to take place on the fifth day of this month—five days from to-day.

A DELEGATE: I rise to a point of order. The gentleman is out of order, for he is not speaking as to the qualifications of the candidates in nomination.

Mr. LONG, of Ohio: That is just what I am doing in my humble way, and I propose to do it. [Laughter.] On yesterday—

A DELEGATE: [Interrupting.] Will you vote for the man who shall be nominated?

Mr. LONG, of Ohio: I expect to vote for the candidate nominated here. [Cheers.] I never have done otherwise. I have never voted anything but a democratic ticket from my first vote to the present hour. Although I am opposed to McClellan—although I think he is the worst man you could put upon the ticket having the name of a democrat, [applause and hisses,] I would still choose him before Lincoln or Fremont, and cast my vote with my friends. If that be my lot, I expect to do it. [Cheers.] Now, gentlemen, I say the people are looking to this convention to take some action—to give them a candidate and a platform—to do something, at least, whereby they will, after the coming election, see, or have at least a hope for the early end of this war. To that end on yesterday I submitted to this convention a resolution proposing to urge Mr. Lincoln to suspend the operation of the draft until we could have an opportunity in the election of November next, to let the people say whether the war is to be continued or not. [Applause.] And, although it proposed immediate action, by the maneuvering of certain gentlemen well versed in parliamentary tactics, it had to go to the Committee on Resolutions. The committee have made their report, and my resolution, and everything else in reference to this draft that affects the people more than anything else, is passed over in silence. Then, gentlemen, is this what the people are to expect from a democratic convention? [Cries of "No, no."] I trust not. Give us a candidate for President, any one except George B. McClellan, any man, I care not who he is, [applause and hisses,] any one whose hands are clean, whose skirts are clear, [hisses,] any one who has not been instrumental in making arbitrary arrests—in violating the freedom of elections and the rights of citizens in every possible manner in which he could carry out the wishes of Abraham Lincoln; and, although he does not come from the Northwest now suffering with taxation; although not in our interests in the Northwest; although it may be for the benefit of eastern capitalists—if he be a democrat, free from these stains—we will vote for him; we will support him; we will rally the masses to his support. Any man else, save and except George B. McClellan. [Hisses and cheers.] I beg of you not to nominate that man. I beg of you to give us another candidate. Any man, [a voice, "Seymour of New York!"] any man— [Shouts for Seymour.]

A DELEGATE: [Interrupting] I rise to a point of order.

Mr. LONG, of Ohio: I have but a word or two to say, and I am done.

Mr. FRIES, of Ohio: Will the delegate from Ohio yield to me a moment?

Mr. LONG, of Ohio: I will yield to my colleague.

Mr. FRIES, of Ohio: I move that we adjourn till ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

[On being informed that Mr. Long wished to say but a few words more, Mr. Fries withdrew his motion.]

Mr. LONG, of Ohio: In conclusion, I beg of you not to nominate McClellan. Having laid upon the table the time-honored principles of the democratic party, as expressed in the resolutions of 1798-99, having ignored them by laying the resolution upon the table, and weak as your platform is, looking in some degree to peace, as it does, in God's name do not place upon it a man who is pledged in every act against which your platform declares. I am not satisfied with the answer of my colleague from Ohio, [Gen. MORGAN,] that George B. McClellan was acting

under orders of the President. He was not obliged to make these arrests, and thus give his sanction and approval to them. Was he acting under the orders of Abraham Lincoln, when, on the 4th day of July, he delivered an oration at West Point, in which he announced the same doctrine? Was he acting, under the orders of Abraham Lincoln when at Lake George he made a speech in which he also proposed a continuance of the war? If, in one case, he was acting under orders, in the other he was acting under his own impulses, and I ask of this convention what is to be expected of him after his speeches at West Point and Lake George. They are directly opposed to a peace platform, and if he accepts a nomination upon it, after what he has said, he stultifies himself, and, in my judgment, is unworthy the support of the democratic party. [Hisses and cries of "Never."]

Mr. CARRIGAN, of Pennsylvania: I desire, in answer to the strictures of the gentleman from Maryland, [Mr. HARRIS,] and the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. LONG,] that Gen. George B. McClellan should speak for himself. Although written more than two years ago, and constituting a portion of the record he makes against the efforts of the present administration to change a war inaugurated for the maintenance of the Union and the preservation of the Constitution, into an abolition crusade, it is fully applicable to the aspersions of to-day. He is charged with collusion with President Lincoln in relation to the proclamation of emancipation. No charge could be more unjust and so utterly at variance with his well known and oft repeated sentiments. Sir, he completely vindicates himself in a letter to Brig.-Gen. A. E. Burnside, written January 7th, 1862, in which he says:

"I would urge great caution in regard to proclamations. In no case would I go beyond a moderate joint proclamation with the naval commander, which should say as little as possible about politics or the negro; merely state that the true issue for which we are fighting is the preservation of the Union, and the upholding the laws of the general government, and stating that all who conduct themselves properly, will, as far as possible, be protected in their person and property."

Sir, is this an endorsement of the President's emancipation proclamation? Is this collusion with an unconstitutional declaration? Is it not rather an unequivocal condemnation? "Say as little as possible about politics and the negro," but everything and in a determined spirit, about the Union, the integrity of the Government and the protection of persons and property. How unlike this written record are the charges made here to-day!

Again, in a letter to Maj.-Gen. Halleck, commanding the Department of Missouri, written November 11th, 1861, he says:

"In regard to the political conduct of affairs, you will please labor to impress upon the inhabitants of Missouri and the adjacent States, that we are fighting solely for the integrity of the Union, to uphold the power of our national government and to restore to the nation the blessings of peace and good order."

Do these instructions to Gen. Halleck sustain the uncharitable assertions of the gentleman from Ohio, that George B. McClellan violated "the freedom of gentlemen and the rights of citizens?" Upon the contrary, sir, does he not absolutely divorce from the "conduct of the war" such outrages upon the liberties of the people? Impressed with the sublimity of his mission and the patriotic impulses of the gallant men he commanded, he pleads "solely for the integrity of the Union;" "the power of our national government," and "the blessings of peace and good order." No purer sentiments or more exalted conception of duty ever animated the head or heart of a military chieftain.

In his instructions to Gen. Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, written November 7th, 1861, he says:

"It is possible that the conduct of our political affairs in Kentucky is more important than that of our military operations. I certainly cannot overestimate the importance of the former. You will please constantly to bear in mind the precise issue for which we are fighting; that issue is the preservation of the Union and the restoration of the full authority of the general government over all portions of our territory. We shall most readily suppress this rebellion and restore the authority of the government by religiously respecting the constitutional rights of all."

Then, sir, as if he had not impressed Gen. Buell as strongly as he desired with the importance of the work before him—weighed down with the responsibilities attaching to the proper "conduct of the war," comprehending all the delicate relations of this fearful struggle, desiring to avoid all unnecessary arrests and to protect to the uttermost verge the liberties of the citizen, he again, on November 1st, 1861, thus writes to Gen. Buell:

"In regard to political matters, bear in mind that we are fighting only to preserve the integrity of the Union and to uphold the power of the general government; as far as military necessity will permit, religiously respect the constitutional rights of all. Preserve the strictest discipline among the

troops, and, while employing the utmost energy in military movements, be careful so to treat the unarmed inhabitants as to contract, not widen the breach existing between us and the rebels: * * * * * I mean by this that it is the desire of the government to avoid unnecessary irritation by causeless arrests and persecution of individuals. * * * * * I have always found that it is the tendency of subordinates to make vexatious arrests on mere suspicion. * * * * * It should be our constant aim to make it apparent to all that their property, their comfort, and their personal safety will be best preserved by adhering to the cause of the Union."

Sir, is there anything in these instructions to Gen. Buell, (who, for faithful compliance with said instructions, was compelled to resign or submit to dishonor at the hands of this administration,) I repeat, sir, is there anything in these instructions to warrant the charges of the gentleman from Maryland, that Gen. George B. McClellan was an "assassin of State rights." [Cries of "No," "no," mingled with loud applause from the galleries.] Sir, this convention and the country will hold the gentleman from Maryland responsible for this slander, while by the action of the one and the votes of the other—in the nomination and triumphant election—his vindication will be complete. One more allusion to the consistent record of George B. McClellan, and I have done. In that statesmanlike compendium of what should be the object of the war as he understood it (written ten days after he had declared to Secretary Stanton, with an almost broken heart, but with unflinching faith in his mission: "If I save this army now, I tell you plainly, that I owe no thanks to you or any other persons in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice this army")—in that remarkable letter, written in camp, near Harrison's Landing, July 7th, 1862, with the enemy in his front in overwhelming numbers, he for the last time, endeavors to impress the President of the United States with the true issues of the war, while in unmistakable language he declares:

"Neither confiscation of property, political execution of persons, territorial organization of states, or forcible abolition of slavery, should be contemplated for a moment. * * * * * Military arrests should not be tolerated except in places where active hostilities exist; and oaths, not required by enactments, constitutionally made, should be neither demanded nor received."

Then, sir, with a solemnity that can be felt, and in language grandly awful, he concludes:

"I may be on the brink of eternity; and as I hope for forgiveness from my Maker, I have written this letter with sincerity towards you and from love of my country."

General George B. McClellan in these letters speaks for himself. Here is his vindication from the assaults of the gentlemen from Ohio and Maryland. With the tenderness of Washington, the consistency of Jefferson, and with the firmness of Jackson, he asserts, and at all times endeavored to maintain the Union and the Constitution, with the reservations of the one and the guarantees of the other. Toward the people of Maryland and Missouri—toward the people of Kentucky and North Carolina, he at all times evinced the most anxious solicitude for the protection of their persons and property. Despite the vindictive assaults here indulged in, George B. McClellan, to-day, is as deeply and firmly imbedded in the hearts of the American people, as the granite in the mountains and the iron in the ore-beds of his native Pennsylvania. [Loud and enthusiastic applause].

Mr. HOLSMAN, of New Jersey: I move that the nominations close, and that we now proceed to vote for the candidate for President, by States; and upon that motion I move the call of the previous question.

Mr. FRIES, of Ohio: I rise to a privileged question. I move that we adjourn till to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

The PRESIDENT: That is not a privileged question.

Mr. FRIES, of Ohio: Then I move that the motion for the previous question be laid on the table, and that the vote be taken by States.

The PRESIDENT: The chair decides that the motion to lay on the table is not in order.

Mr. FRIES, of Ohio: I appeal from that decision.

The PRESIDENT: The decision of the chair is, that the motion is not in order, the motion before the Convention being for the previous question. The gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. FRIES,] appeals from this decision of the chair.

Mr. FRIES, of Ohio: I would ask, if it is the expectation of the members of this convention that we shall be able to conclude our proceedings to-night? [Voices, "Yes" and "No."] I ask the gentlemen who say "yes" what preparation has been made to light this room, to enable us to make any progress? I, for one, now state, that I do not propose to sit here in the dark.

The motion to adjourn having been submitted was lost.

The PRESIDENT: I would call the attention of the gentlemen of the Convention to the fact that it is utterly impossible to transact business in this confusion.

Mr. BIGLER, of Pennsylvania: I rise in the name of one of the great States of this Union, to appeal to my brother delegates to act at least in common order and good feeling. We have now reached a point in our deliberations at which we can terminate them directly and unequivocally in the morning, while it may be truly said, we cannot do so to-night. Let us, therefore, by common consent, fix an hour at which we will assemble in the morning. Those in favor of adjourning will say aye. [Many voices, "Aye," and much laughter.] I beg the pardon of the chair. I did not mean to be taken quite so literally. [Laughter and applause.] Mr. President, I move that we do now adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

The PRESIDENT: I wish to make an announcement. The chairmen of the several delegations, will call at the rooms of the National Committee, at the Sherman House, at eight o'clock to-morrow morning, to receive their tickets of admission. It is moved and seconded that the Convention adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow morning. Those in favor of that motion will say "aye," and those of a contrary opinion will say "no."

The motion prevailed, and the Convention adjourned until Wednesday morning at ten o'clock.

THIRD DAY.

WEDNESDAY, August 31.

The Convention re-assembled, pursuant to adjournment, at ten o'clock in the forenoon.

The PRESIDENT having called the delegates to order,

Rev. L. J. HALSEY, D. D., of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, opened the proceedings with prayer, invoking the Divine blessing as follows:

PRAYER.

Almighty and most merciful God, our Father, the Creator and Governor of the Universe, Preserver and bountiful Benefactor of all men and nations, God over all, blessed forever, to Thee we come, upon Thy great name we call, and before Thine Infinite Majesty we bow our spirits, in solemn reverence, and in humble confession of our sins. And we beseech Thee, O most merciful God, that Thou wilt look down with Thy favor upon this Convention and this congregation of the people of our land, gathered from the different States of the Union, to deliberate about the great interests of our common country; and grant Thy richest blessing upon it. Or that it may please Thee, most merciful God, to endow them richly with the healthful spirit of Thy grace. O that it may please Thee to bias and direct and guide in all their deliberations, these representatives and heads of the people assembled here, for their country's welfare. Grant them wisdom to direct the public spirit in the ways of patriotism. O do pour into their councils a spirit of wisdom and a spirit of earnest and loyal love of their country and of our people, and a desire to worship Thee, O Lord God, Most High, to secure the blessings of Him, who rules in the hearts of all nations. O God, our Father, Thou hast been the God of our fathers in years past, and Thou art our God, the God and preserver of our nation, and we do entreat Thee that Thou wilt look with favor upon all these men, and give them a resolve at this assemblage of the people here, under the Constitution of our beloved land, to inaugurate peace. O we beseech Thee that Thou wilt direct all their deliberations; that Thou wilt rule over all their deliberations yet to come; and bless the result of their decisions to the peace and prosperity of our land, to the restoration of law and order and integrity, throughout the nation, from North to South, and from East to West, to the good of our people everywhere, and to the glory of Thy great name and to the prosperity of Thy will and kingdom in the world.

O Lord, we beseech Thee that Thou wilt bless all the people with Thy richest blessings; give unto them wisdom, patriotism, public spirit, integrity and virtue; and in all the solemn calls upon them, may they remember their dread accountability to Thee, the final Judge. Lord, help Thy servants here assembled, by endowing them with a knowledge of their dependence upon Thee for all wisdom, and their accountability to Thee the final Judge; and we do entreat Thee, O Father, that this assembly, in its deliberations and all the decisions which may be here made, may be governed and ruled by Thee for the good of our land; for the integrity of our nation; for the continuance of our government—the system of government sustained by our fathers; for the preservation of our national unity; and for the restoration of peace and prosperity throughout all the nation. O God, our Father, for this end bless all public measures; bless our rulers and all that are in authority over us in the Capital, in the halls of Legislature, and in the field; and grant that all hearts may be clothed with greater zeal for truth. Haste the day, O God, when our distracted and bleeding land shall be restored again in all its integrity, and to its wide-spread peace and prosperity. These blessings we ask in the name and for the sake of Thy Son, to whom, with Thee the Father, and Thee the Holy Ghost, be endless praise. Amen.

THE MINUTES.

Mr. CASS, of Pennsylvania: I move that the reading of the minutes of the proceedings of yesterday, be dispensed with.

Mr. KING, of Pennsylvania: I second that motion.

[Which motion having been submitted to the Convention prevailed.]

Mr JOHNSON, of Pennsylvania: Mr. President, I withdraw my motion to lay the appeal on the table, which was taken by the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. FRIES, of Ohio: Having accomplished the object I had in view in taking that appeal, to wit, to put off this voting until morning, that we might perform our labor by day-light, I withdraw my appeal.

THE EXISTENCE OF THE CONVENTION NOT TO BE AFFECTED BY
ADJOURNMENT.

Mr WICKLIFFE, of Kentucky: I desire to offer a resolution, which I regard as a privileged question, in reference to the future existence and continuance of the organization of this convention. I hope, if it is not a privileged question, there will be unanimous consent upon it. I am satisfied there can be no exception to it. The delegations from the West, including that State to which I am attached, are of opinion that circumstances may occur between this and the fourth of March, that will make it necessary for the great mass of the democracy of this country to be re-assembled. To get up a new convention is a work of delay and much difficulty; and my object is, that the dissolution of this convention shall not be affected by its adjournment, after it finishes its labors to-day, but to leave it to the Executive Committee, at the instance of the democracy, if any occasion shall require, to convene us at such time and place as the National Executive Committee shall designate:

Resolved, That the Convention shall not be dissolved by adjournment at the close of its business, but shall remain as organized, subject to be called together at any time and place that the National Executive Committee shall designate.

THE PRESIDENT: Under the rule the resolution will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The question is upon seconding the call for the previous question, upon the motion to proceed to nominate a candidate for the Presidency.

A DELEGATE: The motion is to proceed to elect a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, by a call of the States.

The call for the previous question was sustained.

The motion prevailed unanimously.

THE NOMINATION FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

THE PRESIDENT: The question now before the Convention is, Shall the Convention proceed to elect a candidate for the Presidency.

THE SECRETARY: I would state for the information of the delegations voting, that the vote must be not by the number of delegates, but by the electoral vote of the States.

THE SECRETARY thereupon proceeded with the call of States, when the chairmen of the several delegations announced their respective votes as follows:

FIRST BALLOT.

| STATES, | GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN. | THOS. H. SEYMOUR. | HORATIO SEYMOUR. | CHARLES O'CONNOR. | BLANK. |
|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------|
| Maine..... | 4 | 3 | .... | .... | .... |
| New Hampshire..... | 5 | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Vermont..... | 4 | 1 | .... | .... | .... |
| Massachusetts..... | 11½ | .... | ½ | .... | .... |
| Rhode Island..... | 4 | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Connecticut..... | 5½ | .... | .... | ½ | .... |
| New York..... | 33 | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| New Jersey..... | 7 | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Pennsylvania..... | 26 | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Delaware..... | .... | 3 | .... | .... | .... |
| Maryland..... | .... | 7 | .... | .... | .... |
| Kentucky..... | 5½ | 1½ | .... | .... | .... |
| Ohio..... | 8½ | 10½ | 2 | .... | .... |
| Indiana..... | 9½ | 3½ | .... | .... | .... |
| Illinois..... | 16 | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Michigan..... | 6½ | .... | .... | .... | 1½ |
| Missouri..... | 6½ | .... | 4½ | .... | .... |
| Minnesota..... | 4 | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Wisconsin..... | 7 | 1 | .... | .... | .... |
| Iowa..... | 3 | .... | 5 | .... | .... |
| Kansas..... | 3 | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| California..... | 2½ | 2½ | .... | .... | .... |
| Oregon..... | 2 | 1 | .... | .... | .... |
| Totals..... | 174 | 33 | 12 | ½ | 1½ |

Pending the call of the States the following remarks were made :

Mr. AMASA J. PARKER, of New York, in behalf of the New York delegation said: Mr. President, the State of New York, regretfully passing by her favorite son, who disclaims the candidacy; ready to sacrifice all her dearest personal preferences on the altar of the public good; intent only on rescuing the country from the misrule and despotism which govern it, and to prevent their perpetuation; and having full confidence in the virtue, bravery, and ability of the distinguished man who has been designated by the people as their choice, casts her thirty-three votes for George B. McClellan. [Overwhelming and long-continued applause.]

Mr. HICKOX, of Illinois: The delegates of the State of Illinois are instructed by the State convention to cast the vote of the State as a unit. It casts its entire sixteen votes for George B. McClellan. [Enthusiastic and tumultuous cheering.]

Mr. SHEAN, of Illinois: I wish to state that this vote of Illinois is cast by virtue of an instruction of the Convention of the State. The vote as it stands is twenty-one delegates to eleven. I do this in the spirit of the utmost harmony, but with a desire to do justice to myself and the minority of that delegation, and to what I believe to be the voice of a hundred thousand democratic voters in the State of Illinois, we protest against it.

Mr. ROGERS, of Illinois: I can only say that the delegation of Illinois will stand firm for George B. McClellan. [Loud cheers.]

The call of the States having been completed,

Mr. WICKLIFFE, of Kentucky: The delegates from the State of Kentucky cast the vote of their State according to the opinions they had that they should have a candidate eminently qualified to discharge the duties we propose to place upon him; but, sir, determined to unite with this convention of the democracy to preserve the Union and do all we can to save the Union from inevitable destruction, so far as the election of a President can do it, we surrender to George B. McClellan, and cast our vote for him. [Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.]

Mr. JOHN B. WELLER, of California: California wishes to change her electoral vote, and casts it for George B. McClellan. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. ALLEN, of Ohio: Have all the States voted?

The SECRETARY: Yes.

Mr. ALLEN, of Ohio: Then I desire that the delegate will afford an opportunity, so far as they choose to do so, for our delegates to conform their votes by the revision of that vote, to the vote which seems to indicate the will and purpose of the democracy of the United States. And for that purpose I desire that each man shall rise up in his place and name his candidate, if he chooses to rise; while those that do not choose need not answer.

The SECRETARY: Mr. Allen?

Mr. ALLEN, I vote for McClellan. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT: Under the rules of the Convention the motion is inadmissible. The resolution adopted was that they should vote by States, and that the vote should be announced by the chairmen.

Mr. ALLEN, of Ohio: I ask for the indulgence of the Convention five minutes, that the delegates from Ohio may have time to revise their votes.

Time being allowed by consent for the delegation from Ohio to revise their vote, the following remarks were addressed to the Convention—by

The PRESIDENT: Some gentlemen have done me the honor to present my name in connection with the office of President of these United States. It would be affectation on my part to say that these evidences of regard did not give me great pleasure; but many months since I announced to my friends in the State of New York that I could not, for reasons of both public and private character, be a candidate for that high office. Having thus advised life-long friends of my purposes, those to whom I have been under so many great and enduring obligations, it would not be honorable on my part to allow my name to be brought forward under circumstances of apparent antagonism to them, when their views and commitments led them in another direction. [Cheers.] As a member of the New York delegation, I thought it would be advisable to place in nomination for the Presidency, an eminent jurist of that State. [Cheers.] I was led to that conclusion, not by any doubt of the ability and patriotism of General McClellan, or from any want of regard for his person or character, for I cherish a warm attachment for both. I know that General McClellan never sought the nomination now conferred upon him. [Cheers.] I know from his declaration to myself and others that it would be more

agreeable to him to resume his connection with the army of his country, than to occupy the Presidential chair; but the wishes of the people have decided that it should be otherwise. [Applause.]

I wish to say a few words with regard to the objections which have been urged against his nomination, and which have caused some excitement in this convention. I speak more particularly of the objections urged by the delegation from Maryland. I did to one of its members an act of injustice by a decision, because I did not understand the purport of his remarks. It is due to him, that I should say, that I am confident that he never meant to take part in the proceedings of this body, without submitting in an honorable manner to its decisions. [Cheers.] With respect to the orders issued by General McClellan affecting the citizens of that State, I must say that I do not approve of them; but they must not be viewed in the light which events have since thrown upon the policy of the administration. At that time the wisest and best men of our country had confidence in its purposes. Then, the President denounced measures which he has since adopted; then the friends of the Union in the border States were listened to by him, with every appearance of respect and deference. The mask had not been thrown off, and obedience to his orders did not imply hostility to the rights of States. We must bear in mind how at that moment the public was convulsed by a condition of affairs without precedent, and by questions which were suddenly forced upon the public attention, and with regard to which, public men were compelled to act without time for reflection. What man can say after looking back over his own action during the past three years, that he has not fallen into many and grave errors with respect to his duty? God knows, I cannot, after reviewing my own official conduct, which was ever governed with an earnest and prayerful desire to do what was right. [Cheers.] I cannot say that all my official action has been such, as at this time to commend itself even to my own approval.

This is no time to ask, who have been right in the past; but who are right now, and who will act in the future with a single purpose to save our Union, our Constitution and our liberty. [Cheers.] We are now appealing to all classes of citizens to unite with us in this great object. It would be unjust to a multitude of men who voted to put Abraham Lincoln into the presidential chair and who mean by their votes to put him out of it, to look backward, and to canvass past differences of opinions. [Loud cheering.] Would that we were able to draw a veil over the last three year's history of this country! Let us forget the past, and devote ourselves in the future to the salvation of our country. [Cheers.]

It is but just to say, of the distinguished general, whom we have in effect already placed in nomination, that there is no man living, who feels more keenly than he does, the wrongs which have been heaped on the State of Maryland, a State whose history is honorable, and which has ever been identified with all that is glorious in the history of our Union, in the better days of the Republic. [Cheers.] While I did not, in the delegation of which I am a member, vote for placing him in nomination, I cannot refrain from saying in behalf of General McClellan what in my heart I feel to be true, that when he is elected to the Presidential office, he will reflect with fidelity, boldness and zeal, the sentiments of patriotism and love of liberty and law, which animate the hearts of those who are here now assembled. [Long and continued cheering.]

Mr. PIERCE, of Maine: I trust nothing will occur to mar the good feeling and unanimity which should prevail in this convention to allow the delegation from Ohio, by common consent, to make such explanations as they may desire to offer in regard to the vote which Ohio has just now cast.

Mr. THURMAN, of Ohio: The gentleman from Maine, is under an entire misapprehension. I do not know that any gentleman desires to offer an explanation.

Mr. ALLEN, of Ohio: We only ask for a little time to allow us to revise the vote of the State. [Cheers.]

Mr. CHURCH, of New York, presented the following communication, which was read:

"To the President of the National Democratic Convention;

"As chairman of the 'People's League,' founded in 1854, and as a delegate from the New York National Democratic Association, which both associations now amount to over two hundred thousand adherents and members, I have been directed by my constituents to offer the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That we, the German citizens, well knowing that in 1860 a great number of our mistled German brethren contributed to the election of Abraham Lincoln, and thereby assisted in

bringing our present calamities upon the shoulders of this now down-trodden nation, we now pledge ourselves to correct the deplorable errors of our fellow countrymen, and to work, act and do our utmost to elect a democratic President, in order to get rid forever of Abraham Lincoln, and all men adhering to his criminal or despotic inclinations.

"Resolved, That we will go like one man for the nominee of this democratic convention, firmly expecting that his noble conceptions of pure democracy will be our best shield against all endeavors to endanger any right of any part of the people.

(Signed.)

"Max LANGENSCWARTZ,
"People's Delegate."

Mr. ALLEN, of Ohio: The delegates of Ohio have revised their vote, and now cast for McClellan fifteen, and for Thomas H. Seymour six. [Loud cheers and some dissatisfaction.]

Mr. STUART, of Ohio: I came to this convention an anti-McClellan man, and I have done what little I could in my humble way to elect another man; but having become satisfied that Gen. McClellan is the choice not only of this convention, but of the great body of the people, I now move that Gen. McClellan's nomination be declared unanimous. [Loud cheers.]

The PRESIDENT: Will the gentleman please wait until the vote is announced?

The SECRETARY: The vote stands as follows: For Gen. George B. McClellan, two hundred and two and a half electoral votes, and for Thomas H. Seymour, twenty-three and a half electoral votes. The complete revised ballot, showing the vote of the several States, is as follows:

REVISED BALLOT.

| STATES. | GEORGE B. McCLELLAN. | THOMAS H. SEYMOUR. |
|----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Maine..... | 7 | .. |
| New Hampshire..... | 5 | .. |
| Vermont..... | 3 | .. |
| Massachusetts..... | 12 | .. |
| Rhode Island..... | 4 | .. |
| Connecticut..... | 9 | .. |
| New York..... | 53 | .. |
| New Jersey..... | 7 | .. |
| Pennsylvania..... | 26 | .. |
| Delaware..... | .. | 2 |
| Maryland..... | .. | 7 |
| Kentucky..... | 11 | .. |
| Ohio..... | 15 | 6 |
| Indiana..... | 9½ | 3½ |
| Illinois..... | 16 | .. |
| Michigan..... | 8 | .. |
| Missouri..... | 7 | 4 |
| Minnesota..... | 4 | .. |
| Wisconsin..... | 8 | .. |
| Iowa..... | 8 | .. |
| Kansas..... | 3 | .. |
| California..... | 5 | .. |
| Oregon..... | 5 | .. |
| Totals..... | 202½ | 26½ |
| Necessary to a choice..... | | 151 |

The announcement of the change of State after State to McClellan, was greeted by bursts of applause from all parts of the house. But when the result of the ballot was announced, as above, the vast audience surrendered itself to the wildest enthusiasm. Shout after shout from the assembled thousands, mingling with the thunders of cannon and the swelling strains of music, swept out from that building. For over fifteen minutes the tumultuous applause continued. Gentlemen upon chairs swung their hats. Ladies waved their handkerchiefs. Every one joined in the grand shout of joy, caught up and echoed back and back again by the eager and enthusiastic thousands who were unable to gain admission. As the vast assemblage was again subsiding to its wonted decorum, a number of members of the McClellan Executive Committee, of New York, entered the hall with a large and handsome banner bearing a portrait of the hero of Antietam, and the following emblazoned upon it in large characters: "McClellan, our Country's Hope and Pride;" and "If I cannot have the command of even my own men, all I ask is to be permitted to share their fate on the field of battle." The banner was carried to the canopy behind the President's chair, where it was elevated amid the wildest enthusiasm of the people on the sight of that flag under which the brave and gallant general gave such distinguished service to his country.

Gilmore's Band, from Boston, which had been introduced upon the floor, saluted the banner, with "Hail to the Chief!" This, a second time, invoked the enthusiasm of the audience, which found expression as before in thunders of applause and in the waving of handkerchiefs.

While the cheers were yet deafening, Mr. Vallandigham of Ohio, took the stand. The vast audience of thousands knew as by intuition, the words he had to utter, and greeted him with a fresh burst of applause, so deafening and continuous, that it was many minutes before silence could be restored sufficiently for his voice to be heard.

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM, of Ohio: My position in regard to the question of candidates, has not been doubtful previous to or since the commencement of the session of the Convention; but I am not of the number who resolved to support a candidate by beginning with a protestation against him. [Cheers.] From the first moment we assembled here to [the] last, I have been animated by but one sentiment, and that nearest my heart—in this convention peace, to the end that there may be peace in the land. [Loud and tremendous applause.] I now move, Mr. President, that the nomination just announced be declared to be the unanimous sense of this convention. [Loud and long-continued cheering.]

Mr. McKEON, of New York: I rise to second the motion of my friend from Ohio. From the commencement, as he has said, I have been in favor of peace in the Convention and peace in the land. [Cheers.] I was in a minority in the delegation, and I am willing at all times to declare for whom I voted. My vote was given in the delegation to Charles O'Connor, of New York. [Applause.] I now rise to say that I shall give my support to Gen. George B. McClellan, with all the zeal and all the industry of which I am capable. [Enthusiastic cheers.] I think the time has arrived when no further dissensions ought to exist in the democratic party with regard to candidates. It is time to close up our ranks. [Cheers.] It is time for us to stand as one man. [Cheers.] It is time for us to show to the administration that we have resolved that it shall close up on the fourth of March next. [Great cheering and laughter.] There can and should be no dissensions amongst us while we are met face to face with our enemies in politics. Let me tell you that if Mr. Lincoln is re-elected, no one can tell the additional horrors that will come upon this land. [Cheers.] There is not a man here of any note who will not be a marked man; there is not a man here whose life, property and everything—whose wife, children and home—will not be in danger should such a deplorable result follow as the election again of Abraham Lincoln. [Cheers.] We are in the midst of a revolution—a bloody revolution, and the democratic party has risen up to stem the bloody tide; and, in the name of the God of mercy, I beg of you, let us unite as one man to restore the government of the United States under the leadership of the distinguished gentleman you have nominated. [Enthusiastic cheering.]

Mr. POWELL, of Kentucky: Gentlemen of the Convention, it is well known, I suppose, to the members of the Convention, that the nominee was not my first choice for the office of President. The portion of the Kentucky delegation of which I am a member, cast their vote for that distinguished patriot and statesman, Gov. Seymour, of Connecticut; and when we found that Gen. George B. McClellan received over two-thirds of the votes of the Convention, and not until then, we changed our vote and cast it for Gen. McClellan. [Loud cheers.] I fully approve of the sentiment uttered by my distinguished friend from Ohio, Mr. Vallandigham, that we desire peace here that we may have peace throughout this broad land. [Cheers.] Allow me gentlemen, to urge you to unity—unity of action—for the sake of the public liberties. Let us heal all of our dissensions. We have a corrupt and unscrupulous foe in front of us, that has stricken down all the personal, political, and religious rights of the people of this country, so far as they dare do it. I believe that the very destinies of the Republic are in the hands of the great democratic and conservative party of the country, and that, unless we oust the administration now in power, and put in its place honest and true men, who will uphold the Constitution and respect the rights of the people, the sun of American liberty has set forever. [Cheers.] Let me urge you then, every one of you, to lay aside personal feelings and prejudices of whatever kind, and stand together, shoulder to shoulder, in order that we may carry the banners of the democratic party to victory under the leadership of the gallant McClellan. [Loud cheers.] There is something in the history of our candidate that I would be glad were blotted out forever; but I hon-

estly believe that he is a pure patriot and honest man. [Cheers.] I do not approve and cannot approve of his action concerning the arrests in Maryland; but I believe it was an indiscretion, committed in an unreflecting moment, and that, if there now is an upright patriot in the land, it is that zealous and well-tried soldier, Gen. McClellan. [Loud cheers.] If we should succeed in electing him—and I believe we will most triumphantly—I feel that we shall see the Constitution of the country restored—the liberties of the Republic preserved; that we shall have no more suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*—no more arbitrary arrests, in defiance of the law; and, in a word, I believe that the government will be administered properly, according to the Constitution, and our liberties secured and protected from violence. [Loud cheers.] I have every confidence in the nominee of the Convention, as a most excellent and able man; and I have no fear that while he is President, any body connected with him will issue such orders as those issued in Maryland, which have been mentioned before this convention. You must remember that when he issued them he was a soldier serving in the army, not a politician. I believe that he was improperly advised in that matter; and, sir, as a peace man who has opposed this war from the beginning, never having voted a man or a dollar to carry it on, I never will occupy the position of one approving of the war or of the unjust acts connected with it; but I believe that Gen. McClellan, as the nominee of this convention, should receive my support, and he will have it—my warm, hearty, zealous support. [Loud cheers.] As a member of the democratic party, I never have failed to go for its nominee; and although Gen. McClellan was not my favorite or first choice, yet I am ready, with all my heart and soul, to give him my strongest support as the standard-bearer of the great democratic party. [Loud and long-continued applause.]

Mr. SAULSBURY, of Delaware: I wish to say, sir, on behalf of the delegation from Delaware and of the democracy of Delaware, that if the national democracy will carry out the platform adopted by this convention yesterday, and secure to us in Delaware—who have long suffered under the iron heel of despotic power—the blessings of constitutional freedom, we will give more votes, according to our population, for Gen. George B. McClellan, than any other State in the Union. [Tremendous applause.]

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen of the Convention, we are honored with the presence here to-day, of one whose reputation has ever stood high with the American people and whose reputation is the more endeared to us from his connection with the memory of Andrew Jackson. [Loud cheers.] I call upon Senator Allen, of Ohio, to address the Convention.

Mr. ALLEN, who was received with enthusiastic applause, spokè as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: MEN OF AMERICA: During the last four years our rulers have been so unfortunate as to make political and military mistakes which have exposed this nation to the complicated dangers of disintegration, despotism and anarchy. [Cheers.] The people of the nation at large, irrespective of party badges or distinctions, have become appalled at the dangers which threaten it in the near future, and have looked around to find on earth some power capable of rescuing them from these dangers to which they are exposed, and by which they are environed. They have found but one power, and that is the old democracy of the United States. [Great cheering.] In obedience to the call of this endangered country, you have come forward here and tendered your services to aid the balance of your countrymen in the salvation of your country. [Cries of "good," and cheers.] Your deliberations are about to be brought to a conclusion; and, fully aware that it was the unhappy split in our party four years ago which opened the way for the ingress of this destructive power, you are now bound by your own allegiance to the Constitution of your country to close up your ranks and act unitedly, as the only means of saving it. [Cheers.] Hence it is that, notwithstanding the necessary and unavoidable diversity of sentiment in regard to unimportant and irrelevant issues, and in regard to the individuals named for the great office of President, in the end we behold what we are about to enjoy—the grand consummation of the union of the democratic party first, and then the Union of the States. [Loud cheers.] Whilst there is a democrat in the land whose reason is not obscured by error, and whose heart is undaunted by danger, there need be no despair of the Union or of the liberties of the people. The people have done wisely in calling the democracy to make this great effort for the country. I think they have done wisely, because our

party, the great democracy, can say—what no political party on earth can say—that before the breaking out of our troubles and the commencement of the war it acquired all the territory of the Union, carried the country successfully through two foreign wars, and so administered the government as to leave the people, at the end of its lengthened term of office, happy, prosperous and contented. [Cheers.] The States were then all in their proper places within the Union, and under the Constitution, and that Constitution four years ago remained as uncontaminated and unbroken as when it received the signature of the Father of his Country. With such a record for the party in the past, what could the nation do than see for itself that that body has never betrayed us, and that under its wise administration we prospered and were happy. Under it we put down Hartford nullification and South Carolina nullification without drawing a drop of blood. [Cheers.] We never drew a drop of blood, and we can say what no government on earth could say before, that under our administration peace and harmony prevailed, though the country extended over thirty-four States, a space well nigh as large as the whole of Europe; occupied by a population made up from all parts of the world, speaking nearly all languages and entertaining all manner of religious sentiments, and spread over a land with a diversity of climate and having a variety of local interests.

We maintained happiness and prosperity as long as the democratic party had control of the government. [Loud cheers.] We administered the government without having drawn a drop of blood for a political offense. [Renewed cheers.] Our President put down two such local difficulties as that which existed in the South in 1859 without even drawing a sword. How many men, I would like to ask, were murdered, and how long did the civil war last, in putting down the Hartford convention? [Applause.] Mr. Madison was then in power. Where are the thousands and hundreds of thousands who by his order lost their lives in putting that insurrection down? Why, sir, he never injured even a pumpkin. [Laughter and cheers.] How was it in South Carolina, that State which threatened to secede from the Union in 1833? Andrew Jackson was then in power as President. Did he murder hundreds of thousands of citizens to get rid of that local difficulty? There was not a word of it; but on the contrary he appealed in a great proclamation to the reason and sense of the people to maintain the Union and the country. He did what every democrat had done before him, and will do afterwards—he assumed the proposition that mankind was capable of self-government, and that human reason was sufficient to maintain it without powder and steel. [Loud and enthusiastic cheering.]

The illustrious and eminent gentleman who presides over the deliberations of this body, threw out some remarks the other day, in his inaugural address, which, in my judgment, were eminently proper to be considered, and acted upon by every democrat. One of the difficulties which you will have will be in getting all the votes you want, and the way you can get them is by adopting the idea of our illustrious president in this convention; and that is to proclaim that we are not seeking power to massacre our enemies. Not at all. The men of the South were never so well protected as we used to protect them, and they never will be so well protected as we will protect them if they will come back. States as well as individuals will be regarded, for our administration, if elected by the democratic party, will thereby be placed under the wholesome restraint and direction of democratic instincts. [Applause.] That administration, instead of becoming the enemy and persecutor of any part of our people, will act like that celebrated woman in modern history, the first Catharine of Russia, a peasant girl born, by a marriage with Peter the Great and upon the death of her husband, the sole sovereign of the Russian Empire. The first act of her power was to issue an order that all the gallows and gibbets of the country should be pulled down, [applause,] and that all the instruments of human torture should be broken to pieces. [Renewed cheering.] That is the spirit in which we commence this contest. We will have no bastilles put up, but we will have the present bastilles opened and cleaned out. [Tremendous cheering.] Our President will be the friend and guardian and protector, in obedience to and within the limits of the constitution, of every State, and of every man, woman and child within the sweep of our flag. [Applause.] In this spirit we will go into this contest. In this spirit we will present ourselves with a fascination so great that the timid republicans, who are now afraid that we will be down upon them with more

blood and more taxes, will come to our camp and sit in protection under the broad ægis of the constitution and the law, as administered by the faithful interpreters of that constitution, the democratic nominees. As matters stand we have been in somewhat of a predicament for the last three or four years. The democratic party during that time has been without any organized representation. With the exception of the State of New York, and the smaller State of New Jersey, there was not an organic thing on this continent that was not against us. The Federal government, including the army and navy, was in the hands of Mr. Lincoln. State governments, with the two exceptions mentioned, were all against us; and yet, with all this organic power opposed to us, what do we behold? Why, we behold a rising power from among the body of the people—a spontaneous current made up of the contribution of individual wills, and individual feelings; and that power is so great as to make Mr. Lincoln and his people tremble in their boots. [Cheers.] We have not a musket; We don't want any—we don't need any. We have the ballot box, we have tickets, we have human reason, and all we ask of Mr. Lincoln is, that he will keep the road to the ballot box unobstructed by fraud or force; that he will keep that road open to the people; give us a clean ticket and a fair count out. [Laughter and applause.] That is all we want. We do not care how many revolvers he has so that he will just keep them away from the people. We want him to do that. Mark you! We don't want him to interfere, and I don't think he will try it after this demonstration.

Now my friends, I know how anxious you all are to get through with the glorious doings of this day. I am not going to detain you. Nor am I going to say that I will support the ticket. Great God! I never did anything else. [Cheers.] I will not only support it, but I will do it with all my heart, with all my might, and with all cheerfulness. I once voted for a man on the democratic ticket for Congress, and refused to speak to him as I returned from the polls, because he was on the ticket; and, my friends, I take it for granted, and always have taken it for granted, that, whatever else happens in the world, God and the people can't be wrong. [Applause.] I came here without any personal feelings in this business. I have no desire but that the desire of others shall be gratified. I think now that any fears which some of our friends may have entertained in regard to this eminent man already nominated are without any foundation. I will tell you why. We have had Presidents of the United States before this who commanded the whole army and navy, and were victorious Generals. Did they do us any harm? Did Andrew Jackson enslave his country! [Loud and enthusiastic cheering.] Did he employ armies to silence the clamors of a few factionists in South Carolina? Not at all. How many men did he send to the Bastille? Not one. He was a military man, with military instincts as strong as Gen. McClellan, and with this difference: that Jackson came in upon his own popularity, and McClellan comes in as a man believed by the democratic party to be fittest for this particular emergency. McClellan has been suggested by the perilous condition of the country for reasons, all of which have been given to the people; but it makes no difference whether they have been given to the people or not; there is a secret instinct in the breast of every democrat which at night, when he is alone and passes his eye over the darkened aspect of this country, will lead him to feel and see a reason to have some person of McClellan's stripe near at hand. [Applause.] Do you understand it? The army, the great citizen army does not belong to any one man in this country. It belongs to the people; it is a part of the people; it is under the patronage and protection of the people; and the army know what we mean very well. They know that we don't intend to say to them, "Go on, you brutes, into the field; no matter how many thousands of you are slaughtered to-day, I will draw a drag-net through the country and haul up as many more to be slaughtered to-morrow." [Loud cheers.] Nothing of that kind. We don't want a cold-blooded joker at Washington who, while the District of Columbia is infested with hospitals, and the atmosphere burdened by the groans and sighs of our mangled countrymen, when he can spare a minute from Joe Miller's jest book, looks out upon the acres of hospitals and inquires "What houses are those!" We want a man who can entertain a proper appreciation of their sufferings—a man who knows what a soldier means when he points to a missing arm and says: "This arm was lost at such a battle;" or raising a mutilated hand, says: "This hand was fractured at such a battle—this limb was brok-

en at such a battle, where I fought at your order in defence of the government of my country, as you told me." When a soldier comes to George B. McClellan he will not be answered in a ribald joke. The soldiers all understand this thing. They know what the Democratic party means; that so long as the army exists under democratic rule, the brave children of the country who have enrolled themselves under its banners will be respected, regarded and cared for, their pensions paid, their families provided for, because there will be some humanity as well as blood in this business. There will be no call upon half a million of young men to go and be cut to pieces under any pretence, hashed worse than animals, worse than the Roman gladiators, and then come back to be paid off with a jest. [Cheers.] They will all know, every one of them, that Gen. McClellan is no joker, and will know every one of them, when they are told to fight that it will be for something that is constitutional and legitimate, and when they are told the fighting is ended they will be willing to say, "Well, General, Mr. President, I expect you are about right." Willingly and cheerfully they will acquiesce in the decision of the nation as exhibited in the person of the President. The army will throw up their caps in spite of subordinates, because the election of Gen. McClellan will re-connect them with the people. Hitherto orders have been issued and plans devised to cut off the army from the people, to separate and array them against each other, and that has been the great danger of the last four years. This vote will re-connect the army with the people, and give the civil the paramount authority over the military of the country. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. BOGY, of Missouri: Gentlemen of the convention, I will detain you but one moment. I am a delegate to this Convention from the State of Missouri. I came here for peace. We all came from Missouri here, for peace. I was one of those who believed that the best security for peace was the selection of some one of the many civilians and statesmen of our country. My choice was for the distinguished gentleman who presides over this our assembly. [Cheers.] But as we failed in obtaining our choice, I have no hesitation in saying that I am in favor of making the selection of Gen. McClellan the unanimous one of this Convention. [Renewed cheering.] Our State is a vast scene of desolation; it is overrun with hostile bands; every man and every woman is bleeding in the land, we are a subjugated, a conquered, and a tyrannized people. We know what war is, and we wish to appreciate what peace is. We have struggled between two armies; hence we are in favor of peace, and of peaceful measures to end this war. Having failed in securing our choice, I have but to say, that we will rally around the nominee of this Convention, and that Missouri and Kentucky, who met in consultation last night, will go arm in arm, and hand in hand, to drive from our respective soils the bayonet, and restore once more peace to our whole country. No pen can describe the condition of these States—even the papers of our country dare not state it. Free press and free speech does not exist at all. We hope that the proceedings of this Convention, and the workings and doings of this Convention, will restore peace; we want peace; we need peace; and we expect you of the Northern States, you of the free States, who know nothing of war, to protect us in our rights. I thank you for your attention. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT: We have heard from a distinguished friend of Andrew Jackson; You will now listen to the words of one who was the first friend of Henry Clay during his life time; and if he had lived till now, God knows he would have been with us.

Mr. JAMES E. THAYER, of New York, said:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: It may be considered inappropriate by some, for a member of this convention to rise at such an hour as this to make a speech, but as I have said nothing since I have been here, I beg the convention will excuse me for occupying a small portion of its time. I know that this is not a place for words, but it is the grandest stage of human action of our day and generation, and for the future of our country. It will be marked in my judgment, as a great event in history, that the Democratic party assembled in solemn council in 1864. Three years and a half of civil war, that has destroyed many things and changed almost everything, leaves to-day the Democratic party indestructible and unchanged. Amid all the rude shocks of the conflict, with some aberration of its own, you can still mark the grand curve of its orbit, and hold to the promise that

it will circle round to the fulfillment of its highest, grandest destiny—the reconstruction of the Union, and the re-establishment of the Constitution. [Applause.] And this, while all other parties, factions and organizations, after a too long revelry in the guilty glory of this war, self destructive, are about to expire in the very chaos and ruin they have produced. To-day the Democratic party, with imposing and august aspect, sends forth its heralds for the campaign of 1864, with Washington as a sacred memory, and McClellan as the living leader. [Tumultuous applause.] And now let me ask you, as you come from the North and the East, what will you do? What answer does New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont make from their mountain homes; and old Massachusetts, from the sweet swelling mound of Bunker Hill; what say you? And Connecticut, from the shadow of your Charter Oak, what is your response? (A voice: “The Constitution and the Union.”) The Union, the Constitution, is your answer! New-York, with her empire voice, responds to this, and tells you here to-day, that on the platform and principles laid down we will reconstruct our government, and again restore to this land, peace, prosperity and happiness to all. (Great applause.) One word here, and it is this: we want in this contest brave men. We have a platform, we have a candidate, and will you not come up, ye men who have the confidence of the Democracy of this country, in the North, in the central states, and over the West? We want, I say, brave and intrepid men, because no man knows what is in the future. Do you not see that while this convention has been in session the administration is attempting to strip your Western States of your sovereign robes of power, and, twisting them into a bow-string, strangle you, and throw you helpless upon the Bosphorus wave, where you and all your liberties will sink to rise no more. (Voices—“They cannot do it.”) I do not believe they can do it; but let the men stand forth—men who will accept the present and all the future issues of this contest in all the grandeur, if need be, of accepted death [applause]—men like Mirabeau, in the French revolution, who, when the populace cried, “Grand treason of Count Mirabeau,” and their voice rose to the cry of the *lantern* and he marched to the tribune, and his friends whispered of danger, said, “I know it, and I come from it with victory, or to be torn in fragments.” [Applause.] He came in triumph as all men will come when they rise to that sublime altitude in public affairs where they strike the stars, and point with their sovereign fingers the path in which the people will follow them. That is what we want, and we will have Union, and peace with Union; that is the voice of New York. Who, in reviewing the last three years and a half, has not often despaired of the Union, and of the Constitution, and of peace? How often have we thought that the storm of revolution would not abate; that no subsiding wave would reveal the mountain top, and that the dove of peace would fold at last her tired, baffled wing, and sink to a cold, wild, ocean grave. But here, under the auspices of the Democratic party, announcing that they are for the Union, they give you with the Union the promise of peace. When the windows are opened the white-winged messenger will come back with the leaf plucked off, the olive leaf in her beak. [Applause.] Wait a little longer, and when she goes forth again she will not come back to us any more, for there will be no more blood, no more tears, for the face of the land will be dry. [Applause.] And how will the patriotic hearts of the people of this country thank you that you have given them the promise of a restored Union, of a re-established Constitution. How will they thank you—the first body of men that have assembled within the last four years to utter any political doctrines or principles—that, in your calm deliberations, in your solemn judgment, you have closed your eyes for one moment to the sound of martial airs—the rustling of banners, and the tramp of armed men; that you have turned away from ensanguined fields, where blood runs and men are dying, to breathe an atmosphere melodious only with the harmony and beauty of nature, where you can listen to the songs of birds and the music of water-falls. They will thank God that, if we cannot have an abiding and lasting peace, we shall have, at least, a moment in which to cool this quick round of the blood and calm this wild and fevered brow of a nation’s delirium, ere the golden bowl is broken and the silver cord is loosed for ever and for ever. Aye, and if the Democratic party to-day was in power, and could send forth its promise to the people of this land, what a chorus of joy would ascend to heaven at the prospect that the Union with the Constitution restored and peace following, would be brought home to them! How many hearts would thank you if the sun, for one autumnal month, would ripen the fruits of the season without

lighting the way of contending armies to battle, to murder and to sudden death; if we could gaze on one moon as it fulls and wanes, whose pale, cold beams did not fall on ten thousand, twice ten thousand, new-made graves of the best and bravest men that ever knew a mother's prayers, a wife's love, a sister's smile, and an old man's blessing. [Applause.] This, this is the august task undertaken by the Democratic party—the preservation of our Union, the re-establishment of our Constitution, and the restoration of peace. It stands, to-day, proud in its history, confident in the past, hopeful for the future. Yea, and from this point it moves forward to its great work. Come up, then, from the West, from the North, from the East, and the central States, and dedicate yourselves to this grand mission. To-day the shouts that go forth from this convention, of "McClellan! McClellan, for the leader!" [cheers,] shall blanch with a deadlier hue the pale-blooded cheek of abolitionism than did the cry of "The champion! the champion!" in the lists of Templestowe the faces of those who saw Wilfred of Ivanhoe appear to the rescue of the fair Rebecca. They think that the chair is drawn to the funeral pile, that the shadows have changed on the dial; but the footsteps of the champion are heard—he comes, and the Union and the Constitution shall be preserved from the sacrifice. Be it ours, then, in the fulness of trust in the God of our fathers, with every confidence in the leader whom we have chosen—the man I have never seen, his form and features I do not know; but this I do know, that he is admitted to be the first soldier of the country, and so far as his character is concerned, we all know that he is a man of dauntless will and stainless honor. And I believe he has that order of mind of which statesmen are made, that he has the ability to comprehend and the will to execute the policy and plans that will save our government. The popular instinct found him and called him forth; and to-day the genius of his country drops her inspiring mantle upon him, and he becomes the chosen instrument to restore the Union of the whole and preserve the liberties of all. In all history I find no example that surpasses that magnanimity of character, that touches the soul and has more of magnetic power than anything else. Nothing can surpass that noble equanimity of character that, tried by both extremes of fortune, praise and persecution, has not failed in either. [Applause.] Stand, then, gentlemen, by the democratic platform in all its length and breadth, accept your leader as the choice of the people, indicated and approved by yourselves; let that name go forth—"McClellan! McClellan for a leader,"—across your western prairies, beyond the mountains, down the slope, until it mingles with the murmur of the tranquil ocean, let it pass to the East, and go up to those beyond your great lakes, and they will re-echo it—"McClellan! McClellan for our leader!" and take care, ye men of the West, that when we throng that crowded avenue on the eventful day in November next, the banner of New York—"Excelsior"—is not raised higher than any that shall rise beyond the great lakes. [Great Applause.]

THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Mr. WICKLIFFE, of Kentucky, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That Kentucky expects of the democratic President who will be elected in November, that his first official act will be to throw open Abraham Lincoln's prison doors, and let the captives free.

A DELEGATE suggested that it would be better to modify the resolution so as to make it read "political prisoners."

Mr. WICKLIFFE, of Kentucky: There are no others. [Laughter and cheers.] I know among others a case in which thirty-five women of the highest character were dragged from their houses in Kentucky and imprisoned at Louisville, and the newspapers were forbidden to publish the fact to the people of the United States. But I, here, at the risk of arrest, publish the facts and denounce the tyranny that accomplished it as the most vile under the sun.

[The resolution was unanimously adopted.]

Mr. REILEY, of Pennsylvania moved to adjourn.

Mr. JOHNSON, of Pennsylvania: I hope my colleague will reconsider the motion and withdraw it. There is no reason why we should have so long a recess as until four o'clock.

Mr. REILEY, of Pennsylvania: I withdraw the motion.

FIRST BALLOT.

| STATES. | PENDLETON. | VOORHEES. | CASS. | GUTHRIE. | DODGE. | CATON. | POWELL. | PHELPS. | BLANK. |
|--------------------------------|------------|-----------|-------|----------|--------|--------|---------|---------|--------|
| Maine..... | 4 | .... | .... | 8 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| New Hampshire..... | 2 | .... | .... | 2 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Vermont..... | .... | .... | .... | 4½ | .... | .... | ½ | .... | .... |
| Massachusetts..... | 2½ | .... | .... | 9½ | .... | .... | .... | .... | ½ |
| Rhode Island..... | .... | .... | .... | 4 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Connecticut..... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 6 | .... | .... |
| New York..... | .... | .... | .... | 33 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| New Jersey..... | 7 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Pennsylvania..... | .... | .... | 26 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Delaware..... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 8 | .... | .... |
| Maryland..... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 7 | .... | .... |
| Kentucky..... | .... | .... | .... | 5½ | .... | .... | 5½ | .... | .... |
| Ohio..... | 21 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Indiana..... | .... | 18 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Illinois..... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 16 | .... | .... | .... |
| Michigan..... | 6½ | .... | .... | 1½ | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Missouri..... | 1 | .... | .... | .... | 1 | .... | 1 | 8 | .... |
| Minnesota..... | 1½ | .... | .... | 2½ | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Wisconsin..... | 8 | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Iowa..... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 8 | .... | .... | .... | .... |
| Kansas..... | 1½ | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 1½ | .... | .... |
| California..... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 5 | .... | .... |
| Oregon..... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 3 | .... | .... |
| Totals..... | 55½ | 13 | 26 | 65½ | 9 | 16 | 32½ | 8 | ½ |
| Aggregate number of votes..... | | | | | | | | | 226. |
| Necessary to a choice..... | | | | | | | | | 151. |

The SECRETARY: I will announce the vote. For Hon. James Guthrie of Kentucky, 65½ votes; for Hon. George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, 55½ votes; for Hon. L. W. Powell, of Kentucky, 32½ votes; for Hon. J. H. Caton, of Illinois, 16 votes; for G. W. Cass, of Pennsylvania, 26 votes; for Hon. D. W. Voorhees, of Indiana, 13 votes; for Hon. John J. Phelps, 8 votes; for Hon. A. C. Dodge, 9 votes; for blank, ½ vote. There is no choice and the convention will proceed to ballot again.

Pending the call of the States,

Mr. HICKOX, of Illinois, said: The delegation from Illinois, understanding that Hon. Mr. Caton withdraws his name, casts her vote for George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. [Loud cheering.]

Mr. PARKER, of New York: Having cast her vote once entire for Hon. James Guthrie, against his wishes, New York now votes its entire strength, thirty-three votes, for Hon. George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. [Great applause.]

Mr. POWELL, of Kentucky: I have the honor, sir, while thanking the convention, to withdraw my name from this canvass. The delegation from Kentucky, which I have the honor to represent, would change its vote that it be cast for George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. [Enthusiastic cheering.]

Mr. ROBINSON, of Kentucky: At the request of Mr. Guthrie, I desire to withdraw his name from the canvass, and the votes given for him are now cast for George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. [Great applause.]

Mr. PRICE, of Missouri: Missouri withdraws the name of John L. Phelps, and casts her entire vote for Hon. George H. Pendleton, of Ohio.

The remaining States were then called, and each State recorded its vote for George H. Pendleton.

The SECRETARY: That makes the unanimous vote of this Convention in favor of Hon. George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. [Deafening and long-continued applause, mingled with many cries for Mr. Pendleton to come forward.]

Hon. GEORGE H. PENDLETON, of Ohio, the nominee for Vice President, then took the stand, and addressing the convention said:

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION—I have received with profound sensibility this mark of the confidence and kindness of the democracy of the United States. I can say no more than this now. You will consider said all that is proper for me to say upon an occasion of this kind. I can only promise, in future, to endeavor, with the same fidelity that I have tried to exercise in the past—in entire devotion to those principles which lie at the very foundation of our government, and which are the basis of the Federal Constitution, and of the rights of the States

and of the liberties of the individual citizens—[immense applause]—shall endeavor to be faithful to those principles which lie at the very bottom of the organization of the democratic party. And I hope, aye, my friends, animated with the fervent hope that if, by the selection of proper men, we can give a true and faithful application to those principles, we will again build up the shattered fabric of our government and hand it to the next generation as we received it from the past—the most beautiful structure of government which the world has ever seen. I again tender to you, gentlemen, my grateful acknowledgments for the compliment you have done me, and leave the floor. [Loud and long-continued cheers.]

COMMITTEE TO INFORM THE CANDIDATES OF THEIR NOMINATION.

Mr. GREEN, of New York, moved that it be

Resolved, That a committee of nine be appointed by the chair, to announce the nomination of our candidates for President and Vice President, and to request their acceptance of the same, upon the platform of principles adopted by this Convention.

Mr PETRIKEN, of Pennsylvania, moved to amend that the committee consist of one person to be selected from the delegation of each State.

The amendment prevailed,

Mr FULLER, of Illinois: I offer an amendment to the resolution as amended, that the President of this Convention be an additional member of the committee, and *ex officio* the chairman thereof.

The amendment prevailed and the resolution as amended was adopted.

The following committee was appointed:

Horatio Seymour, New York, *Chairman*.

John Bigler, California.
Joseph E. Smith, Maine.
John M. Douglas, Illinois.
Walter F. Burch, Missouri.
James Guthrie, Kentucky.
John A. Green, jr., New York.
Isaac Lawrence, Rhode Island.
Alfred P. Edgerton, Indiana.
George W. Harrington, New Hampshire.
Alfred E. Burr, Connecticut.
Charles Negus, Iowa.
Wilson Shannon, Kansas.

Hugh McCurdy, Michigan.
George M. Carman, Maryland.
Theodore Runyan, New Jersey.
Charles A. Wickliffe, Kentucky.
John Cain, Vermont.
Benjamin Stark, Oregon.
John Merritt, Delaware.
John D. Stiles, Pennsylvania.
George W. Morgan, Ohio.
J. G. Abbott, Massachusetts.
C. H. Berry, Minnesota.
W. T. Galloway, Wisconsin.

COMMUNICATION FROM TAMMANY HALL.

Mr. BELMONT, of New York: I have received a communication from the Democratic General Committee of Tammany Hall and I hope it will be read. In connection with this allow me to say that the democracy of New York, in November next, will roll up a majority of fifty thousand for McClellan and Pendleton. [Applause.]

The following communication, presented by Mr. Belmont, was then read:

"NEW YORK, August 27th, 1864.

"To the Chairman of the National Democratic Convention, Chicago Illinois:

"At a large and enthusiastic meeting of the Democratic General Committee of Tammany Hall, the following resolutions, offered by Hon. Elijah F. Purdy, were unanimously adopted and ordered to be transmitted to the National Convention at Chicago.

"WHEREAS, Tammany Hall was not represented in the late State Convention which elected delegates to the National Convention at Chicago, and thus the democracy of the City of New York, for the first time, are not duly represented in a Democratic Presidential Convention; and

"WHEREAS, We regard the harmony and success of the Democratic party as essential to the peace and the final restoration of the Union and paramount to any question of local organization, and will, therefore, abstain from the exercise of our right to send delegates to Chicago, that the State of New York may present an unbroken front and speak with an individual voice in the national council; nevertheless Tammany Hall cannot refrain from giving expression to the universal and emphatic demand of the democracy of New York for the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we most earnestly recommend the nomination of the great commander of the age, George B. McClellan, for the office of President of the United States.

Resolved, That the nomination of George B. McClellan for the presidency will at once restore hope and confidence to the country, giving to the people their own chosen leader and the most capable man to direct the destinies of the nation in this terrible crisis, and to restore our now divided and suffering country to unity, prosperity and happiness.

Resolved, That this Democratic Republican General Committee, assembled in our time-honored headquarters, old Tammany Hall, representing as we do the democracy of the city of New York, re-affirm and renew our faith to the Union, the constitution, and the supremacy of the laws, and our fixed determination to sustain, preserve and defend them as formed by our patriotic forefathers, and transmitted to us as a rich heritage for preservation; and that we hereby pledge ourselves, one

to the other, to rest not from our labors, nor cease in our exertions, until the stars and stripes again float proudly in the breeze over every foot of ground on the American Continent, with one Union, one constitution, and one government for the American People.

Resolved, That a committee of one from each ward be appointed to make arrangements for a grand mass ratification meeting of the nominations of the national convention for President and Vice President.

(Signed)

"PETER D. SWEENEY, Chairman *pro tem*.

"WM. HILCHMAN, SAM. T. WEBSTER, Secretaries."

RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. BROWN, of Delaware, moved, and it was

Resolved, That one person from each State, to be selected by the delegation thereof, be appointed to form a National Executive Committee.

Mr. TILDEN, of New York, moved, and it was

Resolved, That the same rule, in respect to the organization of, and representation in, the next democratic convention, be adopted, which exists, and is in operation in this body.

Mr. STILES, of Pennsylvania, moved, and it was

Resolved, That this convention unanimously present their thanks to the citizens of the city of Chicago for their hospitality to members of this convention, and to the people in attendance upon its proceedings.

Mr. AUGUSTE, of Pennsylvania, moved, and it was

Resolved, That this convention recommend to the democracy of the United States to meet in mass meeting in their several States, districts and counties, to ratify the nominations to-day made by this convention, upon the 17th of September next, the anniversary of the adoption of the Federal constitution.

Mr. CURTISS, of Pennsylvania, moved, and it was

Resolved, That fifty thousand copies of the proceedings of this convention be printed and scattered among its members.

Mr. COX, of Ohio, moved, and it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be tendered to the citizens of Chicago for the erection of the commodious building in which we have assembled, and to Captain J. W. Connett, chief marshal of the police, and the force under him, for the efficient manner in which they have discharged their duties.

Mr. REILY, of Pennsylvania, moved, and it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be tendered to the officers of this convention for the able and impartial manner in which they have discharged the duties pertaining to their appointments.

Mr. HUGHES, of Pennsylvania, moved, and it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be tendered to the Hon. Horatio Seymour for the able, dignified, impartial and conscientious manner in which he has presided over the deliberations of this convention.

Mr. POWELL, of Kentucky: I have a resolution that I will offer. I move that it be

Resolved, That we request the President of the United States to forthwith annul all military orders prohibiting the circulation of democratic newspapers in the States.

[Many voices were raised to object, with cries of "Ask no favors," "We want no favors," "We won't ask him," etc.]

Mr. BATES, of Iowa: I beg to say to the members of this convention that several propositions were before the committee on resolutions, requesting President Lincoln to withdraw the draft, and orders that he has made for this and that, but the committee came to the conclusion that they would ask no favors of Abraham Lincoln. [Immense and long continued applause.] A free field and a fair fight is all that we ask now.

The PRESIDENT: The resolution being objected to will go to the committee on resolutions.

Mr. SMITH, of Vermont, moved, and it was

Resolved, That any vacancy in the Democratic National Committee shall be filled by such committee on the nomination of the State Central Committees.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. WICKLIFFE, of Kentucky: I believe, sir, that we have accomplished our business; that we have done a good work, and we have a great work before us; so believing, I move, sir, that this convention do now adjourn.

A DELEGATE: *Sine die*?

Mr. HUTCHINSON, of Pennsylvania: No sir, no *sine die* for this convention.

SEVERAL DELEGATES: We have settled that.

The PRESIDENT then rose and said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION—The gentleman from Kentucky has moved that this convention do now adjourn. Before I put this resolution, allow me to return my acknowledgments for the thanks you have voted myself and the other officers of this body. I will not detain you with any lengthened remarks, for I can say nothing to add to the effect of the proceedings of this convention. I know that every heart is full. I know that every man goes forth from here strengthened and confirmed in the conviction that we have added new years to the life of this Republic. [Great cheering.] Gentlemen, we part to meet no more in our present relationship; but throughout the rest of our days we shall remember this meeting. [Cheers.] May the Almighty bless you all in the future. May He grant that you may live to see the day when good government shall be restored to this land of ours—when the Union shall be re-established, and fraternal relationship existing; so that when our last hours come, we can thank God that we have lived again to see the days of American liberty and of American prosperity. [Loud and long continued cheering.]

The SECRETARY: This convention will now stand adjourned *sine die*. [Loud cries of "No, no."] This convention will now stand adjourned subject to the call of the National Committee, with nine cheers for George B. McClellan, the next president of the United States.

[The cheers were most enthusiastically given, and thus ended the proceedings of a body more pregnant with hope for these United States than any other which has been held since the establishment of the Union.]

GEN. McCLELLAN'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE NOMINATION.

The Committee appointed by the Convention to notify General McClellan of his nomination, met on Thursday morning, Sept. 8, at the St. Nicholas Hotel, New York. Nearly all the members of the committee were present. At one o'clock the following letter, advising him of his nomination was presented:

NEW YORK, Sept. 8, 1864.

Major General George B. McClellan:

SIR:—The undersigned were appointed a committee by the National Democratic Convention, which met at Chicago on the 29th of August, to advise you of your unanimous nomination by that body, as the candidate of the Democratic party, for President of the United States, and also to present to you a copy of the proceedings and resolutions of the Convention.

It gives us great pleasure to perform this duty, and to act as the representatives of that Convention, whose deliberations were witnessed by a vast assemblage of citizens, who attended and watched its proceedings with intense interest. Be assured that those for whom we speak, were animated with the most earnest, devoted and prayerful desire, for the salvation of the American Union, and the preservation of the Constitution of the United States; and that the accomplishment of these objects was the guiding and impelling motive in every mind.

And we may be permitted to add, that their purpose to maintain that Union is manifested in their selection as their candidate, of one whose life has been devoted to its cause, while it is their earnest hope, and confident belief, that your election will restore to our country, union, peace and constitutional liberty.

We have the honor to be,

Your obedient servants,

(Signed.)

HORATIO SEYMOUR, Chairman,
JOHN BIGLER, California.
ALFRED B. EDGERTON, Indiana.
ISAAC LAWRENCE, Rhode Island.
JOHN MERRITT, Delaware.
JOHN CAIN, Vermont.
HUGH McCURDY, Michigan.
JOSEPH E. SMITH, Maine.
GEORGE H. CARMAN, Maryland.
BENJAMIN STARK, Oregon.
JOHN M. DOUGLAS, Illinois.
CHARLES NEGUS, Iowa.
JOHN D. STILES, Pennsylvania.
WILSON SHANNON, Kansas.
J. G. ABBOTT, Massachusetts.
C. H. BERRY, Minnesota.
JAMES GUTHRIE, Kentucky.
CHARLES A. WICKLIFFE, Kentucky.
C. G. W. HARRINGTON, New Hampshire.
GEO. W. MORGAN, Ohio.
ALFRED E. BURR, Connecticut.
THEODORE RUNYON, New Jersey.
WESTON F. BIRCH, Missouri.
JOHN A. GREEN, JR., New York.
W. T. GALLOWAY, Wisconsin.

General McClellan accepted the nomination, and his formal letter to that effect was addressed to the committee on the evening of the same day. The following is a correct copy thereof:

ORANGE, N. J., Sept. 8.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, informing me of my nomination by the Democratic National Convention, recently assembled at Chicago, as their candidate at the next election for President of the United States.

It is unnecessary for me to say to you that the nomination comes to me unsought. I am happy to know, that when the nomination was made, the record of my public life was kept in view.

The effect of long and varied service in the army, during war and peace, has been to strengthen and make indelible in my mind and heart, the love and reverence for the Constitution, laws and flag of our country impressed upon me in early youth.

These feelings have thus far guided the course of my life, and must continue to so do to its end.

The existence of more than one government over the region which once owned our flag, is incompatible with the peace, the power, and the happiness of the people.

The preservation of our Union was the soul-avowed object for which the war was commenced. It should have been conducted for that object only, and in accordance with those principles which I took occasion to declare when in active service. Thus conducted, the work of reconciliation would have been easy, and we might have reaped the benefit of our many victories on land and sea.

The Union was originally formed by the exercise of a spirit of conciliation and compromise. To restore and preserve it, the same spirit must prevail in our councils, and in the hearts of the people.

The re-establishment of the Union in all its integrity is, and must continue to be, the indispensable condition in any settlement. So soon as it is clear, or even probable, that our present adversaries are ready for peace, upon the basis of the Union, we should exhaust all the resources of statesmanship practiced by civilized nations, and taught by the traditions of the American people, consistent with the honor and interests of the country, to secure such peace, re-establish the Union, and guarantee for the future the constitutional rights of every State. The Union is the one condition of peace—we ask no more.

Let me add, what I doubt not was, although unexpressed, the sentiment of the Convention, as it is of the people they represent, that when any one State is willing to return to the Union, it should be received at once, with a full guarantee of all its constitutional rights.

If a frank, earnest and persistent effort to obtain those objects should fail, the responsibility for ulterior consequences will fall upon those who remain in arms against the Union. But the Union must be preserved at all hazards.

I could not look in the face of my gallant comrades of the army and navy who have survived so many bloody battles, and tell them that their labors and the sacrifices of so many of our slain and wounded brethren had been in vain; that we had abandoned that Union for which we have so often periled our lives.

A vast majority of our people, whether in the army and navy or at home, would, as I would, hail with unbounded joy the permanent restoration of peace, on the basis of the Union under the Constitution, without the effusion of another drop of blood. But no peace can be permanent without Union.

As to the other subjects presented in the Resolutions of the Convention, I need only say that I should seek in the Constitution of the United States, and the laws framed in accordance therewith, the rule of my duty and the limitations of executive power, endeavor to restore economy in public expenditure, re-establish the supremacy of law, and, by the assertion of a more vigorous nationality, resume our commanding position among the nations of the earth.

The condition of our finances, the depreciation of the paper money, and the burdens thereby imposed on labor and capital, show the necessity of a return to a sound financial system; whilst the rights of citizens and the rights of States, and the binding authority of law over President, army and people, are subjects of not less vital importance in war than in peace.

Believing that the views here expressed are those of the Convention and the people you represent, I accept the nomination.

I realize the weight of the responsibility to be borne should the people ratify your choice.

Conscious of my own weakness, I can only seek firmly the guidance of the Ruler of the universe, and, relying on His all powerful aid, do my best to restore Union and peace to a suffering people, and establish and guard their liberties and rights.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.

(Signed)

To Hon. Horatio Seymour and others, Committee.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE.

WEDNESDAY, August 31, 1864.

The members of the new National Democratic Committee, consisting of one representative from each State represented in the National Democratic Convention, assembled immediately after the adjournment of the Convention, this afternoon, in the rooms of the Committee at the Sherman House, in the city of Chicago.

Mr F. O. PRINCE, Secretary of the retiring committee, called the meeting to order, and called the roll of members, as follows:

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Maine—S. R. Lyman, Portland.

New Hampshire—Josiah Minot, Concord.

Vermont—H. B. Smith, Milton.

Massachusetts—F. O. Prince, Boston.

Connecticut—William M. Converse, Norwich.

Rhode Island—Gideon Bradford, Providence.

New York—August Belmont, New York City.

New Jersey—W. G. Steel.

Pennsylvania—W. A. Galbraith, Erie.

Delaware—John A. Nicholson.

Maryland—Odin Bowie, Colington.

Kentucky—James Guthrie, Louisville: S. Trimble, Paducah.

Ohio—Rufus P. Ranny, Cleveland.

Indiana—W. E. Niblack.

Illinois—Wilbur F. Storey, Chicago.

Michigan—W. L. Bancroft, Port Huron.

Missouri—Lewis W. Bogs, St. Louis.

Minnesota—John H. M. Kinny, Chatfield.

Wisconsin—George H. Paul, Milwaukee.

Iowa—D. O. Finch, Des Moines,

Kansas—Isaac E. Eaton, Leavenworth.

California—Thomas Haynes, San Francisco.

Oregon—William McMillan.

All the members, with the exception of Mr. James Guthrie, of Kentucky, responded to the call of their names.

THE TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION.

Mr. WILBUR F. STOREY, of Illinois, was unanimously elected temporary chairman of the committee; and

Mr. F. O. PRINCE, of Massachusetts, was unanimously elected temporary Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN reported that two names had been reported from Kentucky, He wished to know whether the Committee would take any action relative to this double representation.

Mr. BELMONT, of New York, moved that Messrs. Guthrie and Trimble, the two representatives of Kentucky, be both admitted as members of the Committee, with, however, a single joint vote, as had been the case of the Kentucky delegations to the Convention. Carried.

THE PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

It having been moved and carried to proceed to the permanent organization of the Committee,

Mr. SMITH, of Vermont, nominated for permanent chairman Hon. August Belmont, of New York.

Mr. FINCH, of Iowa, moved that, as Mr. Belmont was the only gentleman nominated, he be unanimously elected. Carried.

Mr. BELMONT, on taking the chair, thanked the Committee for the compliment it had paid him. He expected that the democracy would have this year better success than in 1860; in fact he was certain that they would elect their candidates. [Applause.]

Mr. LYMAN, of Maine, nominated as permanent Secretary of the Committee, Mr. F. O. Prince, of Massachusetts. The nomination was unanimously approved.

Mr. EATON, of Kansas, moved that a committee of five be appointed by the chairman to select seven gentlemen to form the Executive Committee. Carried; and

The CHAIRMAN appointed as such committee Messrs. Storey, of Illinois; Eaton, of Kansas; Trimble, of Kentucky; Haynes, of California; and Galbraith, of Pennsylvania. The committee thereupon retired. On its return it reported recommending the selection of the following named gentlemen to form

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

August Belmont, New York.

Wilbur F. Storey, Illinois.

Frederick O. Prince, Massachusetts.

W. A. Galbraith, Pennsylvania.

Rufus P. Ranney, Ohio.

L. V. Bogy, Missouri.

George H. Paul, Wisconsin.

Mr. CONVERSE, of Connecticut, moved that three additional names be added to those reported by the committee. Lost.

Mr. HAYNES, of California, moved that two additional names, to be named by the Chairman, be added. Carried; and

The CHAIRMAN appointed Messrs. Bowie of Maryland, and Smith of Vermont; whereupon

The report as amended was then adopted.

Mr. HAYNES, of California, moved that the appointment of the Resident Committee at Washington be left in the hands of the Executive committee. Carried.

Mr. BOWIE, of Maryland, moved that the Secretary, Mr. Prince, be requested to act as Treasurer. Carried.

The Committee then adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.



